A

NEW DISCOVERY OF THE PRELATES TYRANNY,

In their late prosecutions of Mr *William Pryn*, an eminent *Lawyer*; Dr. *John Bastwick*, a learned *Physitian*; and Mr. *Henry Burton*, a reverent *Divine*.

Wherein the separate, and joynt proceedings against them in the *High-Commission*, and *Star Chamber*; their *Petitions*, *Speeches*, *Cariages*, at the hearing, and *Execution* of their *last sentence*, and the *Orders*, *Letters* for, and *manner* of their *removes to*, and close *imprisonments* in the *Castles* of *Lancaston*, *Lancaster*, *Carnarvan*, and Isles of *Sylly*, *Garnsey* and *Jersy*; The proceedings against the *Chestermen*, and others before the *Lords* and *High Commissioners* at *Yorke* for visiting Mr. *Pryne*; The Bishop of *Chesters order*, for *Ministers* to preach against M. *Prynne*, and the *Yorke Commissioners* decree to deface, and burne his pictures at *Chester* high-Crosse.

The *House of Commons Order* for, and manner of their *returnes* from *Exile*; their *petitions to the Parliament*; the *Votes of the Commons house upon the report of their Cases*, *declaring the proceedings and censures against them illegall*, *grievous*, *and against the Subjects liberty*, with M. *Prynnes* Argument, proving all the parts of his *censures*, with the *proceedings* against *him*, and his *Chester* friends at *York*, *to be against Law*; are truly related; for the benefit of the present age, and of posterity.

Seneca, *Medea*.

Qui aliquid statuerit parte inaudita altera; licet rectè statuerit, haud æquus est Index.

PSAL 94 20,21,22,23.

Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischiefe by a *Law*? They *gather themselves together against the soule of the Righteous*, and *condemne the Innocent blood*: But the Lord is my defence, and my God is the Rock of my Refuge; And *he shall bring upon them their owne Iniquity*, *and shall cut them off in their owne wickednesse*; *yea*, *the Lord our God shall cut them off*.

Printed at *London* for *M. S.* 1641.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

To the Courteous Reader.

KInde Reader, *I here preſent thee with a late* tragicall Hiſtory, *or* new Diſcovery of the Prelates tyranny, *in their* unjuſt Proſecutions, *and* bloody Perſecutions *of three eminent perſons of the three* moſt noble Profeſſions *in the Kingdom*, Divinity, Law, Phyſick; *all ſuffering together on the* Pillory (*much honoured by them, and they by it*) *& loſing all their* Eares *at once, to make themſelves* heare better, *and the Prelates* * worſe. *Such a* ſpectacle both to men, and Angels, *no age ever ſaw before; and poſterity is never like to behold hereafter. To heare of* Lord Biſhops metamorphoſed into* ravenous Wolves, *is no* Noveltie; *they have been thus in every age, and will be ſo, whiles they have continuance: But to ſee them mounted to ſuch an* Alti-

* *Qui malè facit malè audit.*

* *Acts* 20. 28. 29. *Matth* 7. 15.

Altitude of Authoritie, and Tyranny, as to crucify Divinity, Law, Phyſick on the Pillorie together, and to make Judges, Peeres, and Courts of Juſtice, if not Soveraignitie it ſelfe, the executioners of their Malice, cruelty, and private revenge, by ſuch extravagant and untroden courſes as were unknown to our Anceſtors, is ſuch a prodigious Innovation, as neither Affrica nor England ever beheld the like; and never had beene brought forth into the World, had not a venomous Archprelate proved a Father to engender, a Mother to foſter, a Midwife to produce and bring it to its birth.

* See Fox Acts & Monuments vol. 1. p. 326. Edit. vlt.

But alas poore ſilly Politician! whiles he ſought theſe innocents ruine by thoſe unwarrantable practiſes, he laid but the foundation of his own overthrow; in the * ſnare that he layd for them, is his own foote taken, into the pit that he digged for them, he is fallen himſelfe; his ſnares are broken, they are eſcaped, and he now lies intangled in them; he is * caſt down and fallen, but they are riſen & ſtand upright; his miſchiefe now

* Prov. 26, 27. c. 28. 10. Pſal. 7. 15, 16. Pſal. 9. 15, 16. Pſal. 124. 7. Pſal. 140. 9, 10, 11.

* Pſal. 20. 8.

now returnes on his owne head, and his violent dealing comes downe upon his own pate; evill now hunts this man of violence to overthrow him, and the mischiefe of his owne lips doth cover him. * As hee hath done, so God hath requited him.* Whiles he made haſt to ſhed their blood, he did but lie in waite for his own; *And he* * that did violence to the blood of theſe perſons, now fleeth to the pit, (*as God hath threatned*) let no man ſtay him; *but let all ſtand admiring Gods Iuſtice upon him, and his admirable providence, and mercie in preſerving, delivering, and* * acquitting them from his *unjuſt cenſures, and that in the higheſt Court of Iuſtice, without one negative voyce. The manifeſtation of this remarkable Iuſtice, Mercy and Providence of our great God,* (* glorious in holineſſe, fearefull in praiſes, working wonders; *not onely of old, but at this preſent, even in all our Eyes,* * doing great things *for theſe Patients, for the whole Land,* whereof we rejoyce) *was the chiefe end of publiſhing this* Diſcovery,

* *Iudges* 1.7.

* *Pro.* 1.16.18.

* *Prov.* 28.17

* *Pſal.* 37.5,6.

* *Exodus* 15.11.

* *Pſal.* 126.2,3.

whereby to daunt all graceleſſe Perſecutors, and cheare the ſoules of all ſincere profeſſors. If thou reape Benefit *or* Comfort *from it, let* God *enjoy thy* prayſes, *the* Compiler *hereof thy* prayers.

Farewell, and profit
by what thou readeſt.

A New Discovery of the Prelates tyranny, in their late prosecutions of Doctor *Bastwick*, Mr. *Burton*, and Master *Prynne*.

THE now *Arch-bishop of Canterbury*, with some other Prelates of the *Arminian combination*, maligning Master *Prynne*, & Master *Burton*, for some bookes they had written against the *Arminians* and D. *Cosens* his *private Devotions*; about 12. yeares since, getting the raines of Ecclesiasticall authority into their owne commands, prosecuted them severall times and tearmes in the *High Commission*, for those their profitable, and innoxious bookes: whence being delivered by *prohibitions*, granted them out of the Kings temporall Courts at *Westminster*; these Prelates grew more * *inraged* against them, watching every opportunity, and laying hold on any occasion to worke their ruine. Master *Prynne* not long after, about *Christide* 1632, published a booke against common Enterludes, intituled, *Histrio-Mastix*, licensed for the presse by one Master *Buckner*, house-hould Chaplin to the then Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Abbot*; and published with his approbation, after serious perusall thereof, both in the written, and printed

* This Archbishop at the delivery of the rule for Master *Prynnes* prohibitiō was so extreamly enraged, that he and some 3. or 4. Bishops more rose and went out of their Court (then kept in the Consistory at Pauls) in a Fury, saying *they would immediatly repaire to the King, & make a bolt, or a shaft of it*; using many angry words; and threatning to lay M. *Prynne* by the heels for delivering the Rule.

printed copy. It came to passe, that some six weekes after the publication of this booke, the *Queenes Majesty* acted a part in *A pastorall* at *Somerset-house*; and there being some passages in this booke against *Women-actors*, among the ancient *Romans*, *Grecians*, and *Spaniards*, quoted out of Fathers and forraigne authors; and this reference to them in the *Table* of the booke, *Women-actors notorious whores*, relating to those *Women-actors* only whom these authors thus branded; Canterbury & the prelates by their instruments, the next day after this pastorall acted, carrying Master *Prynnes* booke to his Majesty, * shewed him some of those passages, especially that in the Table, and misinformed his *Highnesse* and the *Queene, that* Master *Prynne had purposly written this booke against the Queene, & her pastorall*; whereas it was licensed, and most of those passages printed neere two yeeres before; and the whole booke finished at the presse at least three moneths, and published six weekes before the personating of this pastorall: But this misinformation onely exasperating the King and Queene against Master *Prynne* for the present, and not taking effect to worke his restraint, their Majesties being truly informed by others, that this booke was written, and printed long before this pastorall was thought of; the now *Archbishop* thereupon caused Doctor *Heylin* (whom Master *Prynne* had refuted in * that booke by the by. in a point concerning Saint *George*.) to collect such passages out of the booke, and digest them into severall heads, as might draw Master *Prynne* into Question for *Supposed scandals therein of the King, Queene, State and Government of the Realme*. Hereupon the Doctor drawes up such Collections, digested into seven heads, with his owne malicious Inferences upon them, not warranted by Master *Prynnes* Text, and delivers them in writing to Secretary *Cooke*, and the *Arch-bishop*. The prelate thus furnished by his minion

* Mr. *H. L.* that first presented, & shewed the booke to the King, was a few moneths after committed prisoner to the Tower for begetting one of the actors of this pastorall with child soone after it was acted, and making a reall commentary on M. *Prynnes* misapplyed text, both the Actresse, and he for this cause becomming M. *Prynnes* fellow prisoners in the Tower, A strange providence, and worthy observation

* Pag. 671 to 678.

minion, takes Mr. *Pryns* booke, and theſe collections, and repaireth with them, on the ſecond Lords-Day morning in *Candlemas Tearme* 1632, to *Lincolns Inne*, to Maſter *Noy* then Kings Attourney generall; and keeping him on that ſacred day both from the Chappell and Sacrament, (which he then purpoſed to receive) ſhewed him the ſaid book and collections of ſome paſſages out of it, which he ſaid, *his councell informed him to be dangerous: & charged him on that duty he owed to his Maſter, the King, to proſecute* Maſter Prynne *for the ſame.* Maſter *Noy* before this, had twice read over the ſaid booke very ſeriouſly, and proteſted, *that he ſaw nothing in it that was ſcandalous or cenſurable in Star-Chamber, or any other Court of Iudicature*; and had thereupon commanded one of the books (which Maſter Prynne delivered him) to be put into *Lincolns Inne* library for the uſe of the houſe; in ſo much that he was ſo diſcontented at this command of the Arch-prelate, that *he wiſhed he had beene twenty miles out of towne that morning.* But being commanded hee muſt obey; and within few dayes after, Maſter Prynne, by this prelates inſtigation, was ſent for before the Lords to the inner Star-Chamber, and by them ſent priſoner, with 4. of the Kings Guard to the *Tower* of London, on *Feb.* the firſt 1632, with this warrant, to which this prelates hand among others, was ſubſcribed.

After our hearty commendations; whereas there is cauſe to reſtraine William Prynne Eſquire, *and to commit him to your cuſtody, theſe are therefore to* will and require you to receive *into your charge the perſon of the ſaid* William Prynne, *and to keepe him ſafe priſoner in the Tower, without giving free acceſſe to him, untill you ſhall receive further*

Order: for which this shall be your warrant. From the Star-Chamber the first of *Feb.* 1632.

Thomas Coventry.
Archbishop of Yorke.
H. Manchestour.
Dorset.
Faukland.
* *Guil. Lond. now Canter.*
Edward Nuburgh.
Iohn Cooke.
Tho. Germine.
Francis Windebanke.

* Now Canterbury.

To our loving friend, Sir William Balfore, *Knight Lieutenant of his Majesties* Tower of London.

BY force of this generall warrant, against Law, wherein no cause of co[illegible]itment is specified, Master *Prynne* was kept pri[illegible]r in the *Tower*, without bayle or maineprise, notw[illegible]nstanding his oft petitions for release absolute, or upon bayle, till Master *Noy*, (sending for the said *Heylins* collections,) exhibited an *Information* against him in the Star-Chamber for his said licensed booke the 21 of *Iune* following, and prosecuted it so, that not permitting Master *Prynne* to be bayled, not yet so much as to repaire to his Counsell, with his keeper; on the 17 of *Feb.* 1633. he procured this heavy sentence against him in that Court: That Master Prynne *should be committed to prison during life, pay a fine of* 5000 *pounds to the King, be expelled* Lincolns Inne, *disbarred and disabled ever to exercise the profession of a* Barrester; *degraded by the University of* Oxford, *of his degree there taken; and that done he set in the Pillory at* Westminster, *with a paper on his head declaring the nature of his offence, and have one of his Eares there cut off, and at another time he set in the pillory in* Cheap-side, *with a paper as aforesaid; and there have his other Eare cut off; and that a fire shall be made*

made before the ſaid pillory, and the hang-man being there ready for that purpoſe, ſhall publikely in diſgracefull manner, caſt all the ſaid bookes which could be produced, (to gather up which, Meſſengers with ſpeciall warrants, were ſent to bookeſellers into divers Counties) *into the fire to be burnt, as unfit to be ſeene by any hereafter*; no particular paſſages of the ſaid booke, on which their unparallelled ſentence was grounded, being ſo much as mentioned in the *Information, replication,* or decree as by Law they ſhould, and doubtleſſe would have beene, had they beene really offenſive, demeriting ſuch a Cenſure. But the innocency of theſe miſconſtrued and perverted paſſages (being for the moſt part the words of other approved authors,) was the cauſe of their concealement and not recording: and though many of the Lords never dreamed of any execution of this hard judgement, and the *Queene* (whom it moſt concerned) earneſtly interceded to his Majeſty to remit its execution; yet ſuch was the prelates power and malice, that on the ſeventh, and tenth of *May* following, (even in cold blood) it was fully executed with great rigour. Whiles Maſter *Pryunes* wounds were yet freſh and bleeding, within three dayes after his execution, this *Arch-prelate* of *Canterbury*, to adde more waight to his affliction, againſt all Law and equity, when there was no ſuite pending againſt Maſter *Prynne* in the High Commiſſion, & his fine in Star-chamber unestreated, granted this warrant out of the High Commiſſion for the ſeiſure of the books of his ſtudy, (conveyed to his Taylors houſe in *Holborne*) of which his ſpies had given him Intelligence.

Vpon speciall consideration, These are to will and require you in his Majesties name, by vertue of his Highnesse Commission for causes Ecclesiasticall under the great Seale of England, to us and others directed, that forthwith upon the receite hereof, you (taking a Constable and such other assistance with you which you shall thinke meete) enter into the house of Thomas Edwards *dwelling in* Holborne, *and therein and in every severall roome or place thereof, or in any other house or place, as well in places exempt, as not exempt, and that thereupon you doe make diligent search for all Pamphlets, books and writings, either in hampers or otherwise, belonging to Master* Prynne, *and all such so found to seize and apprehend, and attach, or cause to be seized, apprehended and attached, and that thereupon you detaine them under safe custody, and bring a true Inventory of them forthwith before us or others our colleagues. His Majesties Commissioners in that behalfe appointed, that thereupon they may be disposed of according to the* * *Law, and as shall be thought meete, and agreeable to Iustice; willing and requiring in his Majesties name, by authority aforsaid, all Iustices of peace, Majors, Sherifes, Constables, Bayliffes, and all other his Majesties officers, and loving subjects to be ayding and assisting unto you, in and about the execution hereof, as they tender his Majesties service, and will answer the contrary*

* What Law is there for you to seise, and dispose of the Books of mens studies, against whom no suites are depending before you? Or with what face can you pretend Law, when you doe directly against law?

trary at their perill. Given at London, this thirteenth day of May, 1634.

Will. Canter.

Jo. Lambe.
Na. Brent. Utro. Gwynne.
Arth. Ducke.
Ro. Aylett.

Tho. Motterſhed deputatus
Geo. Paule mi. Regſtrar, Regij.

To Humphry Croſſe one of the ſwarne meſſengers of his Majeſties Chamber, and alſo to William Flamſted his deputy, and to either of them.

BY vertue of this warrant one cartlode of Maſter *Prynnes* bookes were there ſeiſed, and carried away by *Croſſe*; of which Maſter *Prynne* complaining, the Archbiſhop in the open Court in Star-Chamber denyed the granting of this warrant, though yet extant under his hand, and promiſed preſent reſtitution of the bookes; and yet gave under hand order for detaining them till they were extended, and ſold for Maſter *Prynnes* fine in Star-Chamber; ſuch faith and truth is there in Prelates words and actions. Maſter *Prynne* remained ſundry yeares a priſoner in the Tower by force of the former cenſure: during his imprisonment there, the prelates brought Doctor *Baſtwicke* into their High Commiſſion Inquiſition, for his *Elenchus papiſmi*, and *Flagellum Epiſcoporum Latialium*; and there, without any juſt ground or cauſe at all, paſſed a heavy and unjuſt cenſure upon him; by vertue whereof hee remained cloſe *priſoner* two yeares in the *Gate-houſe*, the *limbus patrum* of our ghoſtly fathers; where he writ a latine booke ſtiled, *Apologeticus ad præſules Anglicanos*, dedicated to the

Lords of Councell, declaring the injuſtice of the proceedings and cenſure againſt him in the High Commiſſion, which was printed, and a *letany* in Engliſh. Not long after Maſter *Burton* upon the fifth of *November*, 1636. preached two Sermons in his owne pariſh-Church in *Friday-ſtreete* in London upon *Prov.* 24. 21. 22. *My ſonne feare thou the Lord, and the King, and meddle not with thoſe that are given to change, &c.* wherein hee laid open the Innovations in doctrine, worſhip and ceremonies, which had lately crept into our Church, and wiſhed the people to beware of them, The *Archbiſhop* hearing of it, cauſeth Articles to be drawne up againſt him in the High Commiſſion, and ſummoned him to anſwer them, out of tearme, before Doctor *Ducke*, at *Cheſwick*; where he appearing, inſtead of anſwering, appealed to the King, which appeale was formally entred by the Regiſter: yet notwithſtanding, within 15. dayes after, they ſummoned him to appeare before a private Commiſſion at *Doctors Commons*, by direction from the *Arch-biſhop*, and there ſuſpended him, *both from his office and benefice*, and granted out attachments to apprehend him: he hereupon keepes his houſe, prints his Sermons, with an *Apologie*, to juſtifie his appeale; which hee dedicated to the King, with Epiſtles to the Lords of the Counſell, to whom his wife preſenting ſome of thoſe printed Sermons, by his direction, was committed by the Lords for her paines. The High Commiſſion purſevants not daring to breake open Maſter *Burtons* doores to apprehend him, the *Archbiſhop, and Biſhop of* London made a warrant to one *Dendy* a ſergeant at armes, to apprehend him, of which this is a true Coppy.

THeſe ſhall be to will and require you to make your immediate repaire to any place where you ſhall underſtand of the preſent being of Henry Burton *Clarke,*

Clarke, and having found him, to take him into your custody, and to bring him forthwith and in your company (all delayes and excuses set a part) before us, to answer to such matters as shall be objected against him. And you are further by vertue hereof to require and charge all Majors, Sheriffes, Justices of peace, Bayliffs, Constables, Headboroughs, and all other his Majesties Officers and loving Subjects, to be ayding and assisting unto you, in the full and due execution of this service, whereof neither they nor you may fayle at your perills. And this shall be unto you and them a sufficient warrant, Dated at Star-Chamber the first of Feb. 1636.

* W. Cant. Tho. Coventrey.
Guil. London. Arundell and Surrey.
Henry. Vaine. I. Coke.

* The primate and first name in all the warrants.

To *Edward Dendy* Esquire, one of his Majesties Serjeants at Armes.

BY force of this illegall warrant (expressing no cause of Master *Burtons* apprehension as by law it ought) serjeant *Dendy* came to Master *Burtons* house in *Friday-streete*, the same evening betweene ten and eleven of the Clocke at night, accompanied with Alderman *Abel*, then Sheriffe of London, and diverse armed Officers and Pursevants, and beleeting his house, * violently broke open his doores with Iron Crowes, and attached him in his house, he making no resistance: and the High Commission Pursevants entring in along with him, by warrant from the

* Which Act the Parliament hath resolved to bee against Law, and that Serjeants at Armes cannot breake open mens houses.

the High Commission under *Canterburies* hand and others searched his study, and tooke away such bookes, and papers with them as they pleased, and Master *Burton* that night was lodged where the preachers at Pauls-Crosse were entertained, and there kept prisoner till the next day, when insteed of being brought before the Lords as this warrant required, hee was by another warrant, without any cause expressed, committed close prisoner to the [illegible], the Coppy whereof (to which *Canterbury's* [illegible]st) here followeth.

THese [illegible] *will and require you to receive into* [illegible]*tody the person of* Henry Burton *Clerke, sent herewith unto you, and to keepe him* * *close prisoner in the* Fleet, *not suffering any one to speake with him untill further Order, whereof you may not faile at your perils, and this shall be your warrant. Dated at* White-Hall *the second of* February. 1636.

* *Canterbury* himselfe and *Strafford*, though accused and committed by the Parliament for high Treason, had far more liberty, and were not close imprisoned, as they committed others.

W. Cant. *Arundell and Surry.*
Guil. London. *Pemb*[illegible]*ooke and Mountgomery.*

T. Jermyn. Io[illegible]*oke Fra. Windebanke.*

To the Warden of t[illegible] *Fleet or his deputy.*

MAster *Burto*[illegible]pon was shut up sundry weekes close prisoner in the *Fleet*, so as neither his wife nor friends could have free accesse unto him. In the interim, betweene his Sermon preached and his imprisonment, two bookes, the one intituled, *A Divine Tragedy*, containing a *Catalogue of Gods late Iudgements upon Sabbath-*

Sabbath-breakers, the other *Newes from Ipſwich*, diſcovering ſome late Innovations in Religion brought in by the Prelates, and ſome extravagancies of Biſhop *Wren* in his late Viſitation, were publiſhed in print, without any Authors name annexed to them, wherewith the Prelates were much vexed and perplexed. And conſulting with themſelves which way to vent the extremity of their malice upon Doctor *Baſtwick*, Maſter *Burton*, and Maſter *Prynne*, they at laſt reſolved to exhibite an information againſt them into the Star-Chamber in Sir *John Banks* his Majeſties Atturnies name, with theſe two laſt named bookes, Doctor *Baſtwicks Apology* and *Letany*, and Maſter *Burtons Apology* of his appeale, and two *Sermons*, thereto annexed, which was done accordingly. This information was exhibited into that Court the eleventh *day* of *March* 12. *Caroli*, in the Vacation time, againſt theſe three Gentlemen, and others, who were ordered to appeare and put in their anſwers to it immediately. They, ſerved with *Sub-pœnas* returnable *immediatè*, contrary to the uſuall proceedings of the Court, refuſed to appeare (being all three priſoners, and two of them cloſe priſoners, before,) unleſſe they might have liberty of acceſſe to counſell, to adviſe and aſſiſt them in their anſwers, it being the Prelates ayme to deprive them of this liberty; Of which the Lords being informed, made this enſuing order; wherein, though they granted them acceſſe to Councell, yet they denyed them the liberty of conferring together at Counſell, though joynt defendants (who might have joyntly anſwered) contrary to the rules of Law, and all former preſidents. One Coppy of which order (ſent indifferently to their three diſtinct priſons) I ſhall here annex.

At White-Hall the 15. of *March*. 1636.

Preſent.

Lo. Archbiſhop of Cant.	*Ea. of Salisbury.*
Lo. Keeper.	*Ea. of Holland.*
Lo Treaſur.	*Lo. Cottington.*
Lo. Privy-Seale.	*Lo. Nuburgh.*
Lo. High Chamberlaine.	*Mr. Treſur.*
Ea. Marſhall.	*Mr. Comptroller.*
Lo. Chamberlaine.	*Mr. V. Chamberlaine.*
Ea. of Northumberland.	*Mr. Sec. Cooke.*
Ea. of Dorſet.	*M. Sec. Windebanke.*

VVHereas information was this day given to the Boord by Maſter *Atturney Generall*, that he had preſe red a Bill of Complaint in the Star-Chamber againſt Henry Burton Clerke, and others, and that the ſayd Maſter Burton doth refuſe to make anſwer to the ſaid complaint, unleſſe he may have liberty to goe abroad to prepare and adviſe with his Counſell, though his Counſell had leave to have acceſſe and to confer with him in the Priſon: Yet to take away all allegations or pretence for excuſe herein, their Lordſhips have thought fit, and ordered, that the ſaid Maſter Burton *ſhall have liberty to goe abroad with his Keeper, to ſpeake and confer with his councell when he deſireth the ſame, and that his ſayd Keeper is to have ſpeciall care that the ſayd* (Maſter Burton doe not make uſe of the liberty to) confer with other perſons, and that he be permitted to goe to no other place,

* God forbid he ſhould have ſo much favour, being in diſfavour with the Prelates.

place, but to his ſayd Councell. And that the ſayd Maſter Burton *ſhall immediately appeare to the ſayd Bill, and make anſwer within ten dayes after. And thereupon the Boord will give ſuch further Order as ſhall be fit.*

Ex. Will: Becher.

THe Priſoners upon this order having liberty to goe abroad with their Keepers, firſt repaired to the Lord Keeper, and petitioned for counſell to be aſſigned them: which granted, they repaired to their counſell at *Lincolnes* and *Grayes Inne*, where meeting together, and conferring a ſhort ſpeech (in the preſence of their keepers) with their counſell, notice thereof was immediately given to the *Archbiſhop*, whereupon their Keepers were ſharply checked, and charged not to permit them to meete or ſpeake together any more, which was ſtrictly obſerved.

Maſter *Prynne*, fearing that they ſhould not be permitted to make a full anſwer to the Information, drawes up a *Croſſe-Bill* againſt the *Archbiſhop* and others; wherein he charged them, *with uſurping upon his Majeſties prerogative royall*, with *Innovations in Religion*, *Licenſing of popiſh and Arminian bookes, and other* particulars: which Bil being ingroſſed and ſigned with all their three hands, Maſter *Prynne* tendred to the then Lord Keeper, with a petition, praying; *that it might be accepted under their owne hands, ſince it concerned his Majeſty and Religion ſo much, and counſell durſt not ſigne it for feare of the prelates; alleadging, in the petition, that if the charges of the Bill were true (as they were ready to make good with their lives,) then their Lordſhips, as they hoped, would thinke meete they ſhould be examined, and the prelates put to anſwer, and puniſhed for them: If falſe; that then the Biſhops to cleare their*

suspected Innocency to the World, would be willing to answer it, since their declining its answer, would imply a guiltinesse in them. The Lord keeper receiving this *Petition* and *cross-Bill*, upon reading the contents thereof, refused to admit it, delivering it to the *Kings Attorney*, and (as I am informed) the *Archbishop* demanded the opinion of the Judges; *Whether these three complainants might not be punished as* *libellers for exhibiting this Cross-Bill against him.* and other Prelates: who all but one, resolved; *that they could not, because the Bill was tendred in a legall way, and might not in point of law be refused; the Kings Courts of Justice being open indifferently to all his Subjects, to sue or be sued.* However this Bill was suppressed, by the Prelates power, and Master *Prynne* within a weeke after his appearance to the Information, by the *Archbishops* procurement, had his Chamber in the *Tower* searched by Master *Nicholas*, one of the Clerkes of the Counsell, and a * *purseivant* of the *Bishops* sent to over-looke him; part of his instructions for his answer they seised, and carried them away to the Archbishop his servant who should sollicite his businesse, was attached by a messenger and kept close prisoner in his house above ten weekes (till after the hearing) without baile or mainprise; which was utterly refused; the liberty of Pen, Inke and Paper, to draw up his answer and instruct his counsell was then also inhibited; himselfe shut up close prisoner, and all his friends debarred from him; by a verball order only. By which strange proceedings he was utterly disabled to put in his answer, which hee earnestly desired, and was denied accesse to his councell contrary to the Lords former order; This done, on the 28 of *April* Master *Pryn*, and his Co-defendants by an order of the Court, *were injoyned to put in their answers to the Information by Munday next came sennight, by the advice of their counsell, and under their hands; or else the matters*

* Yea, and have their lives taken away.

* This Purseivant was, so officious that hee searched Mr. Prynnes foule close-stoole, though Master *Nicholas* wished him to forbeare where he found nothing but a fitting Nosegay to recompence his industry.

matters of the Information ſhould be taken againſt them pro confeſſo. He (having no liberty then to goe to his councell, and they for feare of the Prelates being unwilling to repaire to him, or to medle in the cauſe) thereupon petitioned the Court, that (having beene a *Barreſter at law*) hee might have liberty to put in his anſwer to this Information under his owne hand; annexing ſundry reaſons to the petition, why his owne anſwer, in this caſe ought to be received without the hands of his counſell. This petition (together with an *Affidavit* of the particulars therein alleged) was preſented and read in open Court the fifth of *May* 13. *Caroli.* of which this is a true *Coppy.*

Maſter *Prynnes* firſt Petition to the Lords the 5. of *May* 13. *Caroli.*

To

The right Honorable the Lords of his Majeſties High Court of Star-Chamber. The humble Petition of *William Pryn* cloſe priſoner in the Tower of London.

Humbly ſheweth,

THat whereas the petitioner, *on munday laſt, received from Maſter* Goad, *an order of this Honorable Court, Dated the* 28. *of* April 1637. *Whereby he is enjoyned to put in his anſwer to the Information againſt him, by munday next, under his councells hands, or elſe the matters therein contained ſhall be taken againſt him* Pro

 confeſſo,

confeſſo, *That the petitioner, in regard he hath beene debarred all acceſſe to his councell a weekes ſpace and more, deprived of the uſe of his Servant, who ſhould ſollicite his buſineſſe for him, being detained cloſe priſoner in a Meſſengers hands; debarred all acceſſe of friends, the uſe of Pen, and Ink, and diſabled both in reſpect of the quality of his cauſe, the greatneſſe of the perſons whom it concernes; the diverſity of his councells opinions, and the difficulty of procuring his councell to repaire to him to the* Tower, *during the Terme, to adviſe him, he having no meanes to reward them according to their paines; and for other reaſons mentioned in his* Affidavit, *is utterly diſabled to performe the ſayd Order, to put in any anſwer without great prejudice both to himſelfe and his cauſe, which much concernes both the King, his Crowne and dignity, the Religion eſtabliſhed, and the liberties of the Subject infringed by the Prelates, and their confederates.*

He humbly therefore beſeecheth your Lordſhips, not to exact impoſſibilities at his hands; but in this caſe of neceſſity (according to many late preſidents in this Honorable Court) to grant him liberty to put in his anſwer by the ſayd day under his owne hand, he having beene a Barreſter at law, and not under his councells, who refuſe to doe it out of feare and cowardiſe (being more fearfull of the Prelates, then of God, the King, his Crowne, and dignity;) and alſo for the cauſes hereunto annexed, which he in all humility ſubmits to your Lordſhips wiſdomes and Iuſtice. And the petitioner for the conceſſion hereof ſhall ever pray for your Lordſhips, &c.

The

The reasons why the petitioner (Master *Prynne*) humbly conceiveth, that this honorable Court ought in point of law and Justice, to admit his answer under his own hand, without his councells, which he cannot procure.

First, because there are many late presidents in this Court, wherein divers defendants answers have been admitted without the hands of councell, in cases where no councell would set their hands to them, as *Cloſe*, and Doctor *Laytons* cases, with many others, and but one president only against it: which being ancient, singular, upon a speciall reason, in case of a Woman, not of a man, much lesse of a Lawyer, and in a farre different case from this defendants, ought not, as he humbly conceaveth, to overballance the presidents for him. 1.

Secondly, because upon an *Ore-tenus* and Interrogatories in this Court, in many cases before his Majesty and the Lords at the councell-Table, in Parliament, and in the Kings-Bench upon Indictments, and Informations [especially for Felony or Treason] the defendants are allowed freely to make their owne answers and defence without counsell, if they please, and in some cases are denied Counsell. 2.

Thirdly, because counsell [who were not *ab initio*, but came in long after causes,] both in this honorable Court, and elsewhere, are allowed and assigned, not out of necessity, but favour onely, for the helpe and benefit of defendants, not to be so strictly tied unto them, but that they 3.

they may have liberty to make answer without them in case where they and their councell differ in the substance of their answers, or where councell advise them to their prejudice, either out of feare, ignorance, or otherwise, else it would lie in councells power both to prejudice and betray their causes, and make them lyable to censure though innocent.

4. Fourthly, because every answer in the eye of the law is the defendants only, though signed by his councell for formes sake: he onely is summoned to make answer, he onely is to sweare it, and he, not his councell, is to undergoe the hazard of it: therefore he alone in point of law and Justice is onely bound of necessity to signe it, not his Councell.

5. Fiftly, because else there would be a fayler of Justice in many Cases, through the want, feare, neglect, ignorance, diversity of opinion, or treacher of councell: for if one be peremptorily enjoyned to put in an answer by a day, as this defendant now is, and counsell neglect, refuse, delay or feare to doe it upon any occasion by the time, (which is this defendants Case) he must (without any default, contempt, or neglect in him) suffer thereby as a delinquent, though innocent, without any legall conviction; which were injury and injustice in the highest degree.

6. Sixtly, because the very law of nature teacheth every Creature, but man especially, to defend, preserve and make answer for himselfe, either when the party accused cannot procure others to doe it, or can doe it better then others will, can, or dare doe, himselfe: But in the present Case, this defendant cannot procure his councell to make such an answer as his cause requireth, which resting upon bookes, matters of Divinity, and on other points, wherein his counsell have but little skill, all which he must justify in his answer, he is better able to make his

his anſwer and defence thereto, then his counſell can, will, or dare to doe, in caſe they were willing to undertake it, (which now they utterly deny and refuſe onely out of feare and cowardize,) as aforeſaid, and therefore ought, as he humbly conceiveth, to be permitted to doe it, both in point of Law and Juſtice.

Seventhly, becauſe God and Chriſt, the ſupream Judges of the World, and patternes of all Juſtice both here on Earth, have, and at the generall day of judgement, when all men ſhall appeare before their dreadfull tribunalls, wil allow every man to make his owne perſonall anſwer, and defence, without counſel or proxie, much more then ſhould every inferiour Judge, and Terrene Court of Juſtice doe it, if the party deſire it, and others will not, dare not doe it. 7.

Eightly, becauſe by the judiciall Law among the *Iewes*, every man was to make his owne defence, neither did their Law judge any man, before it heard him and knew what hee did. *Iohn* 7. 51. And by the civill Law, even among the Pagan *Romans*, it was not the manner to condemne any man, before that hee who was accuſed had the accuſers face to face, and had Licence to anſwer for himſelfe concerning the crime layd againſt him, *Acts* 25. 16. If then the Lawes amongſt *Iewes*, and *Pagans*, gave every defendant leave, thus to make anſwer for himſelfe, and never condemned any as guilty for not anſwering by counſell (as appeares by the caſes of *Naboth*, *Suſanna*, *Chriſt* and others, though unjuſtly condemned, yet not without a full hearing, and witneſſes firſt produced, though falſe,) this defendant humbly conceiveth, that by the Lawes and Juſtice of this Chriſtian Common-Wealth, and this honorable Court, hee ought to have like liberty in this cauſe of ſo great conſequence, and that the Informarion againſt him ought not to be taken, *Pro confeſſo*, without hearing witneſſes, or defence, in caſe 8.

he tender an answer under his owne hand, onely without his counsells who refuse to advise or direct him, else our Christian Lawes, and Courts of Justice, might seeme to be more unreasonable then the *Iewes*, or *Pagan Roman* Lawes and tribunalls, which God forbid any man should imagine.

9. Ninthly, because S. *Paul* when he was slandered & accused by *Ananias* the *Iewes* high-Priest, with the Elders, and *Tertullus* their Orator, to be a pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition among the *Iewes*, throughout the World, and a ring-leader amongst the Sect of the *Nazarens*, and that severall times, both before *Felix*, *Festus* and King *Agrippa*, (three heathen Governors and Magistrates,) had still free liberty granted him by them all both to answer and speake for himselfe to the full, to justifie and cleare his innocency, without any counsell assigned. *Act.* 24, & 25, 26. neither did nor could the *Iewish* high-Priest except against it. This defendant therefore being now accused in this honorable Court of the like crimes, by some *English* Prelates and high-Priests instigation, hopes to enjoy the selfe same priviledge and freedome before so many honorable Lords, and Christian Judges, which *Paul* did before these *Pagans*. And hee supposeth his said adversaries will not be against it, unlesse they will be thought to feare, and decline the defendants answer, as guilty persons, who dare not admit their actions to be scanned in so honorable a Court; or men unwilling to have this defendant cleare his owne Innocency; or else be deemed more unreasonable then *Ananias* himselfe, especially in this defendants particular case; who having beene a Barrester, and counseller at the Law formerly admitted even in this honorable Court, to put in answers under his owne hand in other mens cases, cannot but hope and presume to obtaine the like Justice, and favour from it now, in his owne cause, (being thereto

to neceſſitated through his counſels feare and deſerting of him) for the premiſed reaſons, which he in all humility ſubmits to this honorable Court.

Upon the reading hereof in open Court, and of a like petition from Doctor *Baſtwick*, to put in his anſwer under his owne hand, ſince his counſell refuſed to ſigne it; the Court ordered the ſame day, that they ſhould put in their anſwers by munday next under counſels hand, or elſe be then taken *Pro confeſſo*; denying them liberty to anſwer under their owne hands.

Hereupon Doctor *Baſtwick*, when no counſell would ſigne his anſwer, tendered it at the Star-Chamber office, under his owne hand, and there left it: and Maſter *Burton* having his anſwer drawne, engroſſed and ſigned by his aſſigned counſell, Maſter *Holt*, who afterwards withdrew his hand, becauſe his other counſell would not ſubſcribe it, out of feare to diſpleaſe the Prelates, tendered it to the Court, deſiring it might be accepted, or Maſter *Holt*, ordered to new ſigne it; upon this the Court, the 10th of *May* (being the next ſitting) made this Order.

In Camera Stellata coram Concilio ibidem, decimo die *Maii*, *An. Decimo* tertio Car. Reg.

VVHereas by ſeverall orders of this Court, John Baſtwick *Doctor in Phyſick*, *and* Henry Burton *clerke defendants, at the ſuite of his Majeſties Attorney Generall plaintife*, were ordered *to put in their anſwers under counſells hand by Munday laſt, or in default the matters of the Information, to be taken*

against him pro confeſſo: for aſmuch as the Court was now informed that the ſaid Doctor Baſtwick, hath not yet anſwered, nor will bee drawne to put in any anſwer under the hand of his Counſell, but hath throwne into Maſter Goads Chamber, the deputie Clarke of this Court, five skins and a halfe of parchment cloſe written, with his owne hand ſubſcribed thereunto, wherein, as is alledged, is contained much ſcandalous & defamatory matter: It is therefore ordered, that all the matters of the ſaid information wherewith the ſaid Doctor Baſtwick is charged, in the ſame ſhall be taken against him Pro confeſſo. And that his Majeſties attorney Generall doe take into his cuſtody, and conſideration the ſaid ſeverall skins of parchment, ſubſigned as aforeſaid, for ſuch farther order to be therein had and taken, as to Iuſtice ſhall appertaine. And for as much as the Court was now informed, that the defendant Burton hath cauſed his anſwer to be drawne by counſell, and ingroſſed, and would have put it in, if his counſell who drew the ſame, or any other of his counſell, would have ſet their hands thereunto: The Court therefore did forbeare to take him Pro confeſſo, and hath ordered, that his anſwer be received under the hand of Maſter Holt alone, and that after his anſwer put in, and interrogatories exhibited, the examiner ſhall repaire unto him in perſon, where he is to take his examination upon the ſaid Interrogatories.

Jo. Arthur. Dep.

Doctor

DOctor *Bastwick* upon this Order, the next Court-day petitions the Court, that his answer left in the Court might be accepted under his owne hand, in default of councell; and Master *Prynne*, (much grieved that he could neither gaine liberty nor possibility to answer the *Information*, for his just defence, formerly ordered to be taken *pro confesso* against him,) the same day petitioned the Court in this manner.

To the right Honorable the temporall Lords of his Majesties high Court of Star-Chamber The humble petition of William Prynne, prisoner in the Tower.

Master Prynnes second petition to the Lords.

IN *all humblenesse sheweth, That the petitioner ever since his appearance to the Information exhibited against him, hath beene denyed the liberty of Pen, Inke or Paper at his Chamber to draw up his answer, or instructions for his counsell: That his servant who should solicit his businesse, coppy and engrosse his answer, hath for a moneths space beene kept close prisoner from him in a Messengers hands, by his chiefe adversaries practise and power, contrary to Law and Justice, of purpose* to retard his answer, *and disable him in the prosecution of his cause: That his friends have beene restrayned from him, and himselfe ever since the day before the Terme, prohibited all accesse to his counsell (granted to his Codefendants) who without any neglect or default in the petitioner,*

for reaſons beſt knowne to themſelves, refuſe to repaire to him, or to undertake any thing in his cauſe, which they have all quite deſerted. By meanes whereof the Petitioner (though ever deſirous to anſwer, and ſubmit to the Orders of this Honorable Court) neither hath nor poſſibly could put in his anſwer under his counſells hands according to the laſt orders: which diſabling him to draw up his owne anſwer, and requiring meere impoſſibilities of him beyond his power to effect (his counſells hands and wills being not at his command, much leſſe their conſciences and judgements,) hee hopeth neither ſhall nor ought in point of Law or equity, to be ſo farre obligatory and penall to him, as to make him culpable of all the charges in the Information, without any proofe on his Proſecutors part, or default and contempt on his owne. Since by ſuch a way of proceeding (of very dangerous conſequence and example ſcarce parallell'd in any age,) the moſt innocent perſon may be betrayed, and condemned as nocent of any crimes whatſoever falſly charged againſt him, without any neglect or guilt in him, through the unfaythfullneſſe, wilfullneſſe, feare, corruption or default of counſell, and eſpecially in the caſe of powerfull and malicious oppoſites.

He therefore in the midſt of theſe his exigents, and deſertions of his counſell, moſt humbly beſeecheth your Lordſhips, not to require impoſſibilities at his hands (thus bound) beyond his power to effect, but ſo to deale with him in this caſe of extremity, and neceſſity, as your Lordſhips would be dealt with your ſelves, were you (which God forbid) in his preſent condition,

and

and as you would have Christ himselfe to proceede with you at the great day of judgement, when you shall all appeare before his Tribunall to give accoumpt of all your proceedings in this and all other causes: Or if this be overmuch, then onely to grant him such common favor, and justice in this honorable Christian Court, as Christ himselfe found before Pilate, and Paul before Fælix, Festus, and Agrippa, meere heathen Iudges; or as every Traitor or Felon (though never so vile or guilty) usually claimes, and enjoyes of common right in other his Majesties Courts of Justice, to wit, free liberty to answer for himselfe, when his counsell either will not, cannot, or at least wise dare not doe it; with the use of Pen, Inke and Paper, untill friday next, to draw up an answer under his own hand, according to the truth and weightinesse of his cause, since he cannot procure his counsells; and not to prejudge him as guilty, before his answer or defence first heard, or witnesses produced. A request so just and reasonable (as he humbly conceiveth) that his adversaries themselves whether innocent or guilty, cannot in point of honour, justice and conscience, in regard of their places and professions) but willingly (condescend unto, much more then this honorable Court, especially in this waighty cause (not to be precipitated) which highly concernes his Majesties royall prerogative, the state and safety of Religion, and the weale of the whole Realme, as he hopeth to make good in his answer, and by his crosse Bill exhibited to this honorable Court against some great Prelates, and their confederates, under his owne and codefendants Baftwicks, and

Burtons

Burtons *hands for want of counsell (who refuse to appeare in this case of God and the King, against the Prelates, dreaded much more then both) which bill being for the Petitioners, and his said Codefendants necessary defence, and justification, (who are ready to make it good at their uttermost perill) and tending onely to the maintenance of his Majesties Crowne and dignity, our establisshed Religion, and the subjects liberties, against the said Prelates late dangerous encrochments, Innovations, practises and oppressions he now humbly prayeth may be admitted, it being (as he humbly apprehendeth) a cause of infinite consequence, and a thing of common right, which ought not to bee denyed to, or against any subject in an ordinary way of Justice.*

And your Petitioner (upon the concession of his petition) shall ever pray for your Lordships. &c.

THis petition being reade in open Court the 12. of *May*; the Court commanded Master *Holt*, one of Master *Prynnes* counsel forthwith to repaire to him to the Tower to take instructions for his answer; and in the afternoone the Lieutenant of the Tower, was sent for by the Prelates instigation, and checked by the Lords for suffering Master *Prynne* to dictate such a petition, and one *Gardiner*, (a Clerke belonging to the Tower, who writ it from his mouth by the Lieutenants license) was for this capitall offence by a warrant from the Arch-Bishop, and others, the same evening apprehended by a Pursevant, and kept prisoner by him some 14 dayes, and not released, till he had put in bond to appeare before the Lords when ever

ever he should be called; after which he was hunted after by the Archbishops pursevants out of the high Commission: Who upon the reading of this petition, and Doctor *Bastwicks*, made a motion in Court of purpose to prejudge the cause before it came to hearing, tending highly to affront his Majesties prerogative, and thereupon procured this forejudging order, wherein his insolent motion is recited.

In Camera Stellata coram Concilio ibidem, duodecimo die *Maii*, Anno decimo tertio Caroli Regis.

THis day severall petitions being read in open Court, presented on the behalfe of Iohn Bastwicke *Doctor in Physicke, and* William Prynne *Gent. defendants at the suite of his Majesties Attorney Generall; The most reverend Father in God the Lord Archbishop of* Canterbury *his* *Grace In-formed the Court that in some of the Libellous Books, and Pamphlets lately published his Grace and others the reverend Bishops of the Realme are said to have* * *usurped upon his Majesties prerogative Royall, and to have proceeded in the High Commission, and other Ecclesiasticall Courts contrary to the Lawes, and Statutes of the Realme; about which he prayed the Judges might be attended, and they prayed and required by this Court to certifie their opinions therein upon con-*

* It should here be his injustice rather.

* The Parliament hath now resolved this for a truth, however the Court of Starch mber or Judges determined contrary in favour of the prelates.

consideration whereof, the Court hath ordered, that the two Lords cheife Iustices now present in Court, the Lord cheife Baron, and the rest of the Iudges, and Barons shall be attended by his Majesties learned *Councell, touching the Particulars hereafter ensuing, viz.

* Why not by the defendants too, to heare what they could say.

1. Whether proces may not issue out of the Ecclesiasticall Court in the names of the Bishops?

2. Whether a patent under the great Seale be necessary for the keeping of Ecclesiasticall Courts, and inabling of citations, suspensions, and excommunications, and other censures of the Church? and whether the Citations, ought to be in the Kings name, and under his Seale of armes, and the like, for Institutions, and Inductions to benefices, and corrections of Ecclesiasticall offences?

3. Whether Bishops, Arch-deacons, and other Ecclesiasticall persons may or ought to keepe any Visitation at any time, unlesse they have expresse Commission, or Patent under the great Seale of England to doe it, and that as his Majesties visitors onely, and in his name and right alone?

Jo. Arthur, Dep.

THese three questions highly concerning his Majesties prerogative, debated, and determined by the defendants against the prelates for the King, were the maine scandals and libels complained of in this new Information, and the bookes thereto annexed; to prejudge which before the hearing, without the defendants privity (never summoned to be heard what they could say in

in these particulars, against the prelates encrochments, in defence of the Kings right and of themselves; was nothing else but the extremity of injustice, and a foreſtalling of the cause by a previous judgement of the Judges (then at *Canterburies* becke) before it was heard.

Upon this Order, all the Judges before the hearing returned this *Certificate* for the prelates, whom then to disobay or contradict in any thing had beene *fatall*, if not *capitall*; whereupon this following order was made, which will abundantly evidence the Archbishops insolency, treachery and injustice in the carriage of this cause, and the unpatternd compliency both of the Judges, and Court of Star-Chamber to his ambitious, unreasonable, and unjust desires.

In Camera Stellata coram Concilio ibidem quarto die *Junii*, Anno decimo tertio Caroli Regis.

THis day was read in Court, the Certificate of the two Lord chiefe Justices, the Lord chiefe Baron, and other the Justices of the Court of Kings Bench, and Common Pleas, and Barons of the Exchequer, made according to an Order of reference to them granted the 12 *of* May, *last past, upon a motion made in the Court, wherein his Majesties Attorney Generall, is plaintife against* John Bastwick, *Doctor in Physick, and others defendants; In which respect the said Iudges have declared their*

their opinions in point of Law, touching the severall matters to them referred by the aforesaid Order, and the same being so read in Court, his * Majesties Attorney Generall humbly prayed that the said Certificate may be * record'd in this Court, and in all other the Courts at Westminster, and in the high Commission, and other Ecclesiasticall Courts for the satisfaction of all men, that the proceeding in the High Commission, and other Ecclesiasticall Courts are agreeable to the Law and Statutes of the Realme; which the Court held reasonable, and hath ordered it shall so be; and that after the same is enrolled in this Court, and other the Courts aforesaid, the originall Certificate of the said Judges shall be delivered to the most reverend Father in God * the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace to be kept, and preserved amongst the records of his Court,

• It is a strange age when his Majesties own sworne counsell, must thus be of counsell with the prelates against the King contrary to their oath, and promote their encroachments upon his prerogative Royall.

* A strange president and motion, I think no age can shew the like.

* it is fit it should end as well as begin with him.

Which Certificate followeth in these words.

May it please your Lordships,

According to your Lordships Order, made in his Majesties Court of Star-Chamber the twelfth of May last, we have taken consideration of the particulars wherein our Opinions are required by the said Order, and we have all agreed:

That Proces may issue out of the Ecclesiasticall Court in the name of the Bishops, And that a Patent under the great Seale, is not necessary for the keeping of the said Ecclesiasticall Court, or the inabling of Citations, Suspensions, Excommunications or other

censures

cenſures of the Church. And that it is not neceſſary, that Summons, Citations, or other proceſſes Eccleſiaſticall in the ſaid Court, or Inſtitutions or Inductions to benefices, or Corrections of Eccleſiaſticall offences in thoſe Courts, be in the * *Kings name, or with the Stile of the King, or under the Kings Seale, or that their ſeales of Office, have in them the Kings Armes. And that the Statute of* primo Edwardi ſexti. *Ch.* 2. *which enacted contrary, is not now in force.*

* It ſeemes then they are no one of the Kings Courts, becauſe they have neither his name nor Image.

Wee are alſo of opinion that the Biſhops, Arch-Deacons, and other Eccleſiaſticall perſons may keepe their Viſitations, as uſually they have done, without Commiſſion under the great Seale of England *ſo to doe.*

Primo die Julii 1637.

Jo. Bramſton, Jo Finch, Hum. Davenport, Wm. Jones, Jo. Denham, Richard Hutton, George Crooke, Thomas Trever, George Vernon, Robert Barkley, Richard Weſton.

Jo. Arthur Dep.

DOctor *Heylin* in his Briefe and moderate Anſwer to Maſter *Burton* (the matter whereof contradicts the Title) written by the Archbiſhop of *Canterburies* ſpeciall command p. 102. avers, that it was poſitively delivered by my Lords the Judges, with an unanimous conſent, and ſo declared by my Lords chiefe Juſtices in the [illegible] laſt paſt (before this

this Certificate) that the Act of Repeal the firſt of Queene *Mary*, *doth ſtill ſtand in force, as unto the Statute of firſt* Edward 6 *c.* 2. *by you ſo much preſſed, and that the Biſhops might lawfully iſſue out proces in their names, and under their owne ſeales.* Which if true, it is apparant that the Archbiſhop (from whom the Doctor had his information) had received all the Judges reſolutions in this point, not onely before the hearing of the cauſe, but even before his motion in Court, that the Judges might be attended to know their reſolution in theſe points. Is not this prety under-hand juggling, and ſquare prelaticall proceeding, deſerving extraordinary *Laud?* But to returne to the defendants, where I laſt left them.

Maſter *Prynne*, upon Maſter *Holts* reſort to him by the Lords command, upon his laſt petition, to his Chamber at the Tower where he was ſhut up cloſe priſoner, gave him both a fee and inſtructions to draw up his anſwer by, with all poſſible ſpeed: hereupon Maſter *Holt* drawes an anſwer according to his owne minde different from his inſtructions, which he ſent to Maſter *Prynne* to peruſe; who diſliking the generality of it, deſired him to conferre with his other counſell, and to amend it in ſome particulars; whereupon Maſter *Tomlins* another of his counſell, and Maſter *Holt* after two meetings agreeing upon his anſwer, Maſter *Holt* gave order to his Clerks to ingroſſe it, and promiſed to ſigne it the next morning, that it might be put into the Court. Maſter *Prynne* informed hereof payed Maſter *Holts* Clerks for ingroſſing it, and the next morning by his keeper ſent another fee to Mr. *Holt* to ſigne it acccording to promiſe; who then refuſing both the fee and the ſigning of the anſwer, and being taxed for it by Maſter *Tomlins* (who had ſigned the paper Coppy) and demanded the reaſon by Maſter *Prynnes* keeper, why hee refuſed to ſigne it contrary to promiſe; anſwered, that he had received

expreſſe

expreſſe order not to ſigne it, and afterwards being taxed for it by maſter *Prynne* himſelfe, who demanded the reaſon of this deniall; he told him, that hee durſt not ſubſcribe it for an 100 pounds though he had drawne it, for feare of being put from the Barre, he having received a command to the contrary. In the meane time Maſter *Tomlins* who was willing to ſigne it, departed into the Countrey upon his neceſſary occaſions, ſo that his hand could not be gotten; Maſter *Prynne* thus deluded, acquaints the Lieutenant of the Tower with this falſe dealing, requeſting him to informe the Lord Keeper of it; and to deſire his Lordſhip in his behalfe, either to enjoyne Maſter *Holt* to ſigne his anſwer according to promiſe as hee had done in Maſter *Burtons* caſe; or to accept of it without an hand; or of it, or another anſwer ſigned with his owne hand, ſince he had done his utmoſt, and had no meanes to compell his counſell to ſubſcribe his anſwer againſt their wills; The Lord Keeper upon this Information, anſwered, that hee had no power to force counſell to ſigne an anſwer, and that it was not his uſe to doe it, or to receive any anſwer without counſells hands.

Upon the returne of which anſwer, Maſter *Prynne* replied; that if the *Lord Keeper being cheife Iudge of the Court, the greateſt officer in the Realme under the King, and a freeman, had no power to enforce his counſell to ſigne his anſwer according to duty, equity and promiſe; then certainly he, being a poore cloſe priſoner had farre leſſe power to doe it; and ought not to ſuffer for his default, which he could not remedy.* Hereupon inſteed of accepting his anſwer, this order was made againſt him, and Doctor *Baſtwick* to take them both *pro confeſſo* for their contempt in not anſwering, and to appoint a day for hearing the Cauſe.

In

In Camera Stellata coram Concilio ibidem, 19°. die *Maii, An. Decimo* tertio Car. Reg.

Vpon information this day to this honorable Court, by Sir Iohn Bankes *Knight his Majesties attorney generall, that he hath exhibited an information into this Court against* Iohn Bastwick *Doctor of Physicke,* William Prynne *Gentleman, and others defendants, for framing, Printing and publishing severall libellous and seditious Bookes; and that upon the said defendants* Bastwick *and* Prynnes * *contemptuous refusall to answer the said Information, severall Orders have beene made to take them* Pro confesso: *It was humbly prayd, and accordingly thought fit and ordered by this Court, that the said cause as against them shall be heard, the first cause the first sitting of the next Terme, when the Information shall be read, and the matters thereof be taken against them,* Pro confesso.

* Note.

VVhere you see, that the sole charge against them, and the ground of their censures was a supposed *contemptuous refusall to answer*, when as the Offence, and contempt was on the contrary side, in refusing to accept of their answers tendred, and ordering Counsell not to signe their answers.

In

In the meane time, Master *Burtons* answer signed by Master *Holt*, after it had laine in Court neere three weeks, upon Master *Atturnies* suggestion to the Court, the 19 of *May*, that it was scandalous, was * referred to the consideration of the two chiefe Justices, *Bramston* and *Finch*: who calling Master *Holt* privately unto a Chamber, before them, Judge *Finch* ratled and reviled him exceedingly for putting in such an answer, which he said, was the most pernicious that ever came into the Court; telling him, that hee deserved to have his Gowne pull'd over his eares for drawing it. To whom he replied, that he had beene an ancient practiser in the Star-Chamber, and had drawne it according to his best understanding and wit; that all of it was onely a confession, or explanation of the charge in the Bill, and a recitall of Acts of Parliament; and how this could be scandalous or impertinent, it went beyond his capacity to conceive. And so without more words, these Judges resolved the answer scandalous, and ordered all the substance of it tending to Master *Burtons* justification and defence, to be expounded; as will appeare by this their certificate.

The certificate of Sr. *John Bramston* Knight, chiefe Justice of his Majesties Court of Kings Bench; and Sir *Iohn Finch* Lord chiefe Justice of his Majestes Court of common-Plees, in the cause wherein his Majesties Attorney generall is plaintiffe, and *Henry Burton* Clerke, and others, defendants.

According to the direction of an Order of this Honorable court, Dated the Ninteenth day of

this instant May, *we have considered of the Impertinent, and scandalous matter in the said Defendants,* Henry Burtons *answer, And are of opinion, that* * *all the said answer is Scandalous or impertinent, and fit to be expounded, except these words in the beginning thereof, viz.* The said defendant by protestation, not confessing, or acknowledging, any matter or thing alleaged against him, in, or by the said Information to be true, and saving ever to himselfe all advantage of Exception to all, & every the uncertainties and imperfections therof: *And these words in the end of the said answer, viz.* This defendant to all and every such supposed unlawfull Combination, Confederacies Disloyalties, Seditious, scandalous and factious Libells, or other unlawfull offences examinable, or censurable in this Honorable Court, wherewith he is charged in, or by the said Information, answereth and sayth, That he is not guilty thereof, or of any part thereof in any such manner and forme as is supposed thereby; All and every which matters of answer this defendant doth averre, and is ready to prove, as this Honorable Court shall award. And humbly prayeth, that all and every such errors as shall be adjudged by this Honorable Court, to have beene by any ignorance of his in the common-Lawes, or Statutes of this Realme, or by any frailty, or infirmity of his, contrary to the loyalty of his Heart, and integrity and sincerity of his intention, and profession, may by his Majesties

* Master *Holt* the ancientest practisar in the Court then living. Master *Burtons* assigned counsell was very much over-scene, if all his answer but this (consisting of 40. sheets of paper at least) was scandalous and impertinent.

Majesties gracious Interpretation thereof, and by this Honorable Courts favorable advice, or mediation to his Majestie therein be remitted, and pardoned, and himselfe dismissed by the same Court. *All which nevertheless we humbly submit to the* grave judgement *of this Honorable Court.*

22 *May* 13. *Car. Regis.*

Jo. Arthur Dep.

VPon this strange Certificate of the Judges Master *Burtons* answer was miserably mangled, the whole body and substance of it being quite rased, and nought but the head and feet left upon record; whereby he was made to deny that to be done by him, which he confessed and justified upon oath in his answer, as it stood before this rasure of it.

VVhereupon the examiner comming to Master *Burton* to the *Fleet*, where he was close prisoner, to examine him upon Interrogatories grounded on his answer, he hearing of this expungement, refused to be examined, unlesse his answer might be admitted as it was put in; or he permitted to put in a new answer; he disclaiming this answer to be his, since altered in all the materiall points tending to his justification and defence, and turned from a *speciall*, to a *generall not-guilty*, necessarily involving him in the danger of periury: Of which the Court being informed by Mr. *Attorney*, made this ensuing Order, to take the Bill *pro confesso* against him, only for not answering Interrogatories; a thing never heard of before in that Court, when there was an answer admitted.

In Camera Stellata coram Concilio Ibidem, secundo die *Iulii*. Anno decimo tertio Caroli Regis.

Upon information this day, to this Honorable Court, by his Majesties Attorney Generall, that Henry Burton *Clarke defendant at his suite, being served with Proces, stood forth Proces of contempt, and would not be drawne to answer, untill severall orders were made, that the matters of the Information should be taken against them as* Pro confesso. *Unlesse hee did answer the said information by the times limitted by the said Order, and at length he did put in an answer stuffed with impertinent, scandalous matters, which upon a reference to the two Lords chiefe Justices is since expunged, and Interrogatories are exhibited into Court for examination of the said defendant, and the examiner, as appeares by his certificate now read, hath beene with him to take his examination, but he refused to be examined, so that an attachment is awarded against him, and delivered to the Warden of the* Fleete, *in whose custody he remaines, A close prisoner; It was humbly prayed that the matter of the said Information, & Interrogatories may be taken against him* Pro confesso. *Upon consideration*

ſideration whereof the Court hath ordered, that the examiner doe goe againe unto him, and if hee ſhall not thereupon by this day ſenight anſwer the ſaid Interrogatories, they ſhall be taken againſt him, Pro confeſſo, *as is deſired.*

Jo. Arthur. Dep.

AFter this Order, the examiner repaired againe to Maſter *Burton*, who upon his former grounds, (becauſe hee had no anſwer in Court of his owne or his counſels, but onely of the Judges making, which he diſclaimed for his, and becauſe his anſwer to the Interrogatories would contradict the generall anſwer of Not-guilty, which the Judges had now made out of his ſpeciall Not-guilty;) refuſed to be examined; and ſo though his anſwer were in Court as the Judges altered it, yet for not anſwering to Interrogatories framed on it as it ſtood before its expungement, the Information was taken againſt him *Pro confeſſo*, and this order made at a prirate ſeale out of Terme, to bring the cauſe to hearing upon one dayes warning onely given to the Defendants, when as by the courſe of the Court, a *Subpœna ad audiendum judicium* ſhould have beene ſerved on them, and 15 dayes warning at leaſt given them before the day of hearing.

Apud Ædes Domini Cuſtodis magni Sigilli Angliæ, de cimo tertio die *Junii*, Anno decimo tertio Caroli Regis.

IT *is this day ordered by the right Honorable the Lord Keeper, that* John Baſtwick, *Doctor in Phyſick*, Henry Burton, *&c.* William Prynne

Gentlemen defendants at the ſuite of his Majeſtie Atturney Generall, ſhall have liberty with their keepers to attend their councell, and to appeare at the Barre of this Court on wedneſday the 14. *of this inſtant moneth, when the cauſe is appointed to be heard.*

Jo. Arthur Dep.

THeſe priſoners having this liberty granted them juſt the day before the hearing, Maſter *Pryne* thereupon repaired with his anſwer (formerly drawne up and engroſſed by Maſter *Holt*) to Maſter *Tomlins* another of his counſell, newly returned out of the Country the evening before; and having got him to ſigne this engroſſed anſwer, he goeth therewith to Maſter *Holt*, deſiring him likewiſe to ſubſcribe it according to promiſe; who refuſed to doe it now as hee had done before, proteſting, *that he durſt not for an* 100 *peeces ſigne it, becauſe he had received an expreſſe command to the contrary.* Whereupon Maſter *Pryne* caries it ſigned with Maſter *Tomlins* hand to the Star-Chamber Office, where hee tendred it to Maſter *Goad*, together with another longer anſwer ſigned with his owne hand, and an *Affidavit*, that hee could not poſſibly procure his counſells hand to his anſwer before that time; But Maſter *Goad* adviſing with his deputy, refuſed to receave either the anſwers or *Affidavit*, though earneſtly preſſed to it by Maſter *Pryne*: who thereupon returned with his anſwers to the Tower; and prepared himſelfe for the hearing the next morning, reſolving, that ſince he was thus forejudged, and taken *pro confeſſo*, upon a meere falſe pretence of a contempt in refuſing to anſwer, to ſpeake nothing, but what the

the Court should give him occasion when he appeared at the Barre; Doctor *Bastwick*, and Master *Burton* taking up the like resolution; because they were certainly informed, that whatever they spake, their sentence was already determined, and set downe in writing before the hearing came, all being thus taken *pro confesso* as you have heard and seene by the former orders.

Thus I have given you a faithfull relation of the proceedings in this cause before the hearing, out of the *Orders* and Records of the Star-Chamber, the legality whereof you shall finde discussed in the close of this Treatise; Now before I come to the day of hearing, give me leave to acquaint you onely with one particular touching Master *Holt*, hee being sharply checked and terrified for drawing and signing Master *Burtons* answer, and charged not to signe Master *Prinnes* answer when hee had drawne it, as you have heard before, was much troubled at it; and being in Court at the hearing the next day, he offered two or three times to speake something in defence of Master *Burtons* cause; which the then Lord Keeper perceiving, beckoned and held up his finger to him to hold his peace, whereupon hee kept silence. And comming home to his house, as soone as the sentence was passed, his wife inquiring of him how the cause went; he broke out into these speeches. *O wife, I never saw a just cause, so unjustly caried, which I could have defended by Scripture against all the World. I had a great desire to speake in the cause for my client, but my Lord Keeper beckened and held up his finger to me, to hold my peace: And the poore Gentlemen have received the most unjust, and hardest censure, that ever I heard in that Court. For my owne part, I gave over my practise in other Courts, and betooke my selfe wholy to this Court to enjoy the liberty of my conscience, thinking to finde nothing but Iustice, and*

just

juſt proceedings there: But now alas I finde things ſo carried there, that for this dayes worke ſake, I deſire never to come more to that Barre, I deſire of God, that this may be the laſt cauſe that ever I may plead in that Court, which hath partly miſcarried through my default (as I am affraid moſt will judge) though I durſt not doe otherwiſe, beeing ſo checked and threatned. This ſayd, he continued ſad, and ſoone after falling ſicke for conceit only of the miſcarriage of this cauſe (as his wife & friends beleeved) hee died; never going to the Star-Chamber after this ſentence: the proceedings and paſſages whereof, I ſhall next relate.

A briefe

2.

A BRIEFE

RELATION OF CERTAINE SPECIALL AND MOST MATERIALL PASSAGES AND Speeches in the Starre-Chamber,

occaſioned and delivered the 4th of *June*, 1637. at the Cenſure of thoſe three Worthy Gentlemen, Dr. *Baſtwicke*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Prynne*, as it was faithfully gathered from their own mouthes by one preſent at the ſaid Cenſure.

BETWEEN eight and nine a clocke in the morning, the 14th of *June*, the Lords being ſet in their places in the ſaid Court of Starre-Chamber, and caſting their eyes upon the Priſoners then at the Barre, Mr. *Prynne* humbly deſired their Lordſhips, *before they entred upon the*

juſt proceedings there: But now alas I finde things ſo carried there, that for this dayes worke ſake, I deſire never to come more to that Barre, I deſire of God, that this may be the laſt cauſe that ever I may plead in that Court, which hath partly miſcarried through my default (as I am affraid moſt will judge) though I durſt not doe otherwiſe, beeing ſo checked and threatned. This ſayd, he continued ſad, and ſoone after falling ſicke for conceit only of the miſcarriage of this cauſe (as his wife & friends beleeved) hee died; never going to the Star-Chamber after this ſentence: the proceedings and paſſages whereof, I ſhall next relate.

A briefe

2.

A BRIEFE RELATION OF CERTAINE SPECIALL AND MOST MATERIALL PASSAGES AND Speeches in the Starre-Chamber,

occasioned and delivered the 4th of *June*, 1637. at the Censure of those three Worthy Gentlemen, Dr. *Bastwicke*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Prynne*, as it was faithfully gathered from their own mouthes by one present at the said Censure.

BETWEEN eight and nine a clocke in the morning, the 14th of *June*, the Lords being set in their places in the said Court of Starre-Chamber, and casting their eyes upon the Prisoners then at the Barre, Mr. *Prynne* humbly desired their Lordships, *before they entred upon the*

hearing of the Cauſe, to grant him licence to make a ſhort motion to the Court: which being condeſcended to, and he entring into his motion, Sir *John Finch* (chiefe Juſtice of the Common Pleas) looking wiſtly upon Mr. *Prynne* who ſtood at the Barre behind him, interrupted him, and began to ſpeake in this manner, though no Judge, but of Counſell only in the firſt Cenſure.

Sir *Iohn Finch.* *Is this Mr.* Prynne? *I had thought Mr.* Prynne *had had no Eares, they being adjudged to be cut off by the Sentence of this Court, but me thinks he hath Eares, and it is fit the Court ſhould take order that the Decrees thereof ſhould be better executed, and ſee whether Mr.* Prynne *hath Eares or no:* which cauſed many of the Lords to take the ſtricter view of him; and for their better ſatisfaction the Uſher of the Court was commanded to turne up his haire, and ſhew his Eares: upon the ſight whereof ſome of the Lords ſeemed to be diſpleaſed that his Eares had not formerly been cut cloſer off, and caſt out ſome diſgracefull words of him, and the favour ſhewed him in the execution.

M. Prynne. To which Mr. *Prynne* replyed, *My Lords, there is never a one of your Honours, but would be ſorry to have ſuch an Eare marke, and to have your Eares cropt as mine are. And I pray my Lord* Finch, *give me leave to proceed in my motion, without interruption, I hope you will have eares to heare it; and then ſay what you pleaſe.*

L. Keepr. The Lord *Keeper*, not perfectly hearing what he ſpake, inquired twice, *What doth he ſay?* Wherupon

upon Mr. *Prynne* repeated his former words with a louder voyce: to which the Lord *Keeper* replyed, *in good faith my Lords, he is very ſawcie.*

I hope (ſaid Mr. *Prynne*) *your Honours will not be offended with my words: And I pray* God *to give you Eares to heare us as you ought.* *M. Prynne.*

The buſineſſe of the day is to proceed to the Priſoners at the Barre, ſaid the Lord *Keeper*. *L. Keeper.*

Mr. *Prynne* then humbly deſired the Court againe, *to give him leave to make a ſhort motion or two, before the reading of the Information*; which being granted he moved. *M. Prynne.*

Firſt, that their Honours would be pleaſed to accept of a Croſſe Bill againſt the Prelates, ſigned with their three hands, for want of Counſell: which Bill he formerly tendred to my Lord *Keeper* at his houſe, who refuſed to admit it; this Bill being their juſt defence in this cauſe, and ſtanding with the juſtice of the Court, he deſired might then be admitted; and ſo tendered it there in open Court.

As for your Croſſe Bill, it is not the buſineſſe of the day: Hereafter if the Court ſhall ſee juſt cauſe, and that it ſavours not of Libelling, we may accept of it: for my part I have not ſeen it, but have heard ſomwhat of it. *L. Keeper.*

I hope your Honours will not refuſe it, ſeeing it is on his Majeſties behalfe: we are his Majeſties Subjects as well as the Prelates, and therefore require the Juſtice of the Court againſt them, which ought to be as open for us, as againſt us. *M. Prynne.*

L. Keeper. But this is not the buſineſſe of the day.

M. Prynne. Why then, my Lords, I have a ſecond motion, which I humbly pray your Honours to grant, it being juſt and reaſonable, which is, That your Lordſhips will be pleaſed to diſmiſſe the Prelates now ſitting in Court, and not admit them to have any voyce in the cenſure of this cauſe, being generally known to be our adverſaries, proſecuters and parties in the cauſe, mentioned by name in the Information; it being no wayes agreeable to the rules of equity, Law, or reaſon, that thoſe who are our enemies and proſecuters, ſhould be our Judges. Therfore we humbly crave they may depart the Court, and not ſit Judges in their own cauſe.

L. Keeper. In good faith its a ſweet Motion, is't not? You are here accuſed for Libelling againſt the reverend Biſhops now in Court: And if you ſhould thus Libell againſt all the Lords and Reverend Judges, as you do againſt the moſt Reverend Prelates, by this your Plea, you would have none to paſſe Sentence on you for your Libelling, becauſe they are parties.

M. Prynne. Under correction, My Lord, the caſes are not alike; your Lordſhip knows there is a wide difference betweene Libelling againſt this whole Court, or againſt one or two particular members of it. And in your Lordſhips own caſe againſt Mr. *Norton*, you abſented your ſelfe from the hearing, becauſe a party; and other of the Lords have uſually done the like in caſes which have particularly

ticularly concerned them: we do not deſire to decline the Juſtice of the Court, nor except againſt any of your Honours, but the Prelates only which are parties.

Is this all you have to ſay? *L. Keeper.*

My laſt Motion is, that your Lordſhips wilbe pleaſed to receive my Anſwere to the Information, ſigned with one of my Counſels hands; I tendred it yeſterday at the Office as ſoone as I could get my Counſell to ſigne it, where it was refuſed; and now I here tender it in Court, and deſire it may be admitted. *M. Prynne.*

Your Anſwer now comes too late: Well, proceed now to the buſineſſe of the day. Read the Information. *L. Keeper.*

Thereupon Mr. *Hooker* one of the Attornies for the King, read the Information, being very large, and having theſe 5 Books thereto annexed.

The firſt a Book of Dr. *Baſtwicks* written in Latine, ſtiled *Apologeticus ad Præſules Anglicanos in Curia Celſæ Commiſſionis*, &c. The ſecond a little Book, intituled, *News from Ipſwich*. The third, named, *A Divine Tragedy, recording Gods fearfull judgements on Sabbath breakers*. The fourth, Mr. *Burtons* Book intituled, *An Apologie of an Appeale to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſtie, with two Sermons for God and the King; preached on the fift of November*, then laſt paſt. The fift and laſt, Dr. *Baſtwicks Letany*.

The Kings Counſell (being five) took each of them

them a ſeverall Book, and deſcanted there at the Barre upon them according to their pleaſure.

Mr. Attorny. Mr. Attorney began firſt with Dr. *Baſtwicks* Latine Book, picking out here and there particular concluſions that beſt ſerved for his own ends, (as did all the other Councell out of the other foure Books) to the great abuſe of the Authors, as themſelves there immediately complained, intreating them to read the foregoing grounds, upon which the ſaid Concluſions depended, without which they could not underſtand the true meaning of them.

Ser. Whitfield. Next unto the Attorney, Serjeant *Whitfield* falls upon Reverend Mr. *Burtons* Booke, who vented much bitterneſſe againſt that unreproovable Book (as all that read it with an honeſt and orthodox heart may clearly perceive) ſwearing, In good faith, My Lords, there is never a page in this Book, but deſerves a heavier and deeper Cenſure then this Court can lay upon him.

A. B. Next followed *A. B.* who in like manner deſcanted upon the *News from Ipſwich*, charging it to be full of pernitious lyes, and eſpecially vindicating the honour of *Mathew Wren*, Biſhop of *Norwich*, as being a learned, pious and reverend Father of the Church.

M. Solicitor In the next place follows the Kings Solicitor, who acts his part upon the *Divine Tragedy*: To which part of it, concerning *Gods judgements on Sabbath breakers*, he had little to ſay, but onely put it off with a ſcoffe, ſaying; that they ſate in the

the ſeat of *God*, who judged thoſe accidents which fell out upon perſons ſuddainly ſtroken, to be the judgements of *God* for Sabbath breaking, or words to the like effect: but inlarged himſelfe upon that paſſage, which reflected upon that late Reverend (as he termed him) and learned Profeſſor of the Law, and his Majeſties faithfull Servant Mr. *William Noy*, his Majeſties late Attorney, who (as he ſaid) was moſt ſhamefully abuſed by a ſlander layd upon him; which was, that it ſhould be reported, that *Gods* judgement fell upon him, for ſo eagerly proſecuting that innocent perſon Mr. *Prynne* in that Court for his *Hiſtriomaſtix*, which judgement was this: That he laughing at Mr. *Prynne* while he was ſuffering upon the Pillory, was ſtrook with an iſſue of blood in his privy part, which by all the art of man could never be ſtopped unto the day of his death, which was not long after. But the truth of this my Lords (ſaith he) you ſhall finde to be as probable as the reſt; for we have here three or foure Gentlemen of credit and ranke, to teſtifie upon oath, that he had that iſſue long before; and therupon made a ſhew as though he would call for them in before the Lords, to witneſſe the truth thereof (with theſe particular words, Make roome for the Gentlemen to come in there;) but no one witneſſe was ſeen to appeare: which was a pretty deluſion, making all beleeve this report of his death to be true, and worth all your obſervations that read it: And ſo concluded (as the reſt) that this Book alſo

alſo deſerved a heavy and deep Cenſure.

M. Harbert Laſtly follows Mr. *Harbert*, whoſe deſcant was upon Dr. *Baſtwicks* Letany, picking out one or two paſſages therein, and ſo drawing thence his Concluſion, that joyntly with the reſt, it deſerved a heavy Cenſure.

The Kings Counſell having all ſpoken what they could, the Lord *Keeper* ſaid to the Priſoners at the Barre.

L. Keeper. You heare Gentlemen wherewith you are charged: and now, leſt you ſhould ſay you cannot have liberty to ſpeak for your ſelves (though precondemned by rejecting their Anſwers without cauſe, and taking all *pro confeſſo*, as it was charged in the Information, and ſo all they could ſay bootleſſe,) the Court gives you leave to ſpeake what you can, with theſe conditions.

Firſt, that you ſpeak within the bounds of modeſty.

Secondly, that your Speeches be not Libellous.

Priſoners. They all three anſwered, they hoped ſo to order their Speech, as it ſhould be free from all immodeſty and offence.

L. Keeper. Then ſpeake a *Gods* name, and ſhew cauſe why the Court ſhould not proceed to Cenſure (as taking the cauſe *pro confeſſo*) againſt you.

M. Prynne. My Honourable good Lords, I came here to the Barre expecting ſome particular charge to be layd and proved againſt me, but as yet I have not ſo much as heard of any to which I might give Anſwer: The Information and Kings Counſell have

have charged Dr. *Baſtwicke* and Mr. *Burton* with particular Books thereto annexed, but neither of them lay any of the Books particularly to me; and ſo there is nothing appearing before your Lordſhips to expoſe me to your Cenſure, or requiring my anſwer.

My ſole offence for which the Information muſt be taken *pro confeſſo*, againſt me, is a preſuppoſed Contempt in not putting in my Anſwer under my Councels hand by a certaine day prefixed, for which I ſhall offer this juſt Apologie.

Such a day of the moneth, there came a Subpæna from your Honours to make my appearance in this Court, which being entred, I took forth a Copy of the Information, petitioned for Counſell, which being aſſigned, I then attended ſome of them to draw up my Anſwer; this was in the Lent vacation, and ſome of them being out of Town, the others would doe nothing till they could all meet in Terme, and peruſe both the Information, and Books thereto annexed as part thereof. Being joyntly charged with Dr. *Baſtwicke* and Mr. *Burton*, we were prohibited ſo much as to meet and conferre together even at Counſell. And a day or two before the Terme I was debarred acceſſe to my Counſell, and by a verball Order (I know not for what cauſe, nor by whoſe Command) ſuſpended from pen, inke and paper, and thereby diſabled to draw up my Anſwer, or any Inſtructions for my Councell; at which time my Servant who ſhould ſollicit my buſineſſe and

Coppy my Anſwer, was apprehended and kept cloſe Priſoner ever ſince, without admitting him to Bayle, in a Meſſengers hands, all my friends ſecluded from any acceſſe to me; my Chamber twice ſearched for writings, part of my Anſwer and Inſtructions taken away by Mr. *Nicholas*, one of the Clerks of the Councell who ſearched my Chamber, and ſo impoſſibilities of putting in my Anſwer were by theſe proceedings impoſed on me. You tyed both my hands and feet, and then required me to give in an Anſwer, when you had thus diſabled me to make any.

You did aſſigne me Councell, 'tis true, but they neglected to come to me, and I could obtaine no acceſſe to them, being kept cloſe Priſoner under Locke and Key. Yet in that exigencie to ſhew my willingneſſe to put in my Anſwer, I twice petitioned your Lordſhips in open Court for pen, inke and paper, and liberty to put in an Anſwer under mine own hand, by reaſon of my Councels neglect; which you utterly refuſed to grant me, though a Counceller at Law, warranted by former Preſidents, and ſundry reaſons which I preſented to your Lordſhips, who upon my ſecond Petition commanded Mr. *Holt*, one of my Counſell to repair to my Chamber at the Tower to take Inſtructions for drawing my Anſwer; who coming thither to me, I gave him his fee, and ſuch Inſtructions as I could for my Anſwer, deſiring him to draw it up with all ſpeed; which he promiſed to doe, and ſhortly after ſent me it in paper,

per, ſomwhat different from my Inſtructions: whereupon I deſired him to purſue his Inſtructions, which he refuſing, deſired conference with my other Counſell, who meeting twice or thrice together agreed upon my Anſwer, cauſed it to be ingroſſed, and promiſed to ſigne it that it might be put in the next day. When it was ingroſſed by Mr. *Holts* Clerks by his direction, and brought to me, I payd for the ingroſſing; and ſent it with a new fee to Mr. *Holt* to ſigne; who contrary to his promiſe utterly refuſed to ſigne it; ſaying, that he durſt not for 500. pound, for he had received expreſſe order to the contrary. In the meane time my other Counſell Mr. *Tomlins* went forth of Town, and as ſoon as he returned, this Terme he ſigned it: Whereupon I carryed it to Mr. *Goad* to the Office, and there offred to put it in upon Oath: he refuſed to admit it, and would not receive an Affidavit of my tendring it, and of my Counſells refuſall to ſigne it in due time. Here is my Anſwer under one of my * Counſells hands, and I now tender it in Court upon my Oath, the acceptance wherof your Lordſhips cannot deny, as my caſe ſtands, with the juſtice of the Court. And ſo he tendred his Anſwer.

* *M. Tomlins.*

Mr. *Prynne*, we can ſhew you a Preſident, that this Court hath proceeded and taken a cauſe *pro confeſſo*, for not putting in an Anſwer in ſixe dayes; you have had a great deale of favour ſhewed in affording you longer time, and therfore the Court is free from all calumny or aſperſion, for

L. Keeper.

rejecting your Anſwer, now ſigned with your Councells hand, becauſe it came too late.

M. Prynne. My Lords, I deſire your Honours to permit me to put you but one caſe or two in Law, which will acquit me from all Default. If *A.* and *B.* ſubmit themſelves to the Arbitrement of *C.* for all Controverſies between them; and *C.* awards that *A.* ſhall enter into a bond of an 100. pound, to *B.* with *D.* and *E.* before ſuch a day, as his ſureties; This award both in ſundry of our Law Books and very often of late hath been adjudged to be altogether unreaſonable, abſurd and voyd in Law, becauſe *A.* hath no meanes at all to compell *D.* and *E.* to enter into Bond with him, in caſe they refuſe to doe it upon his bare requeſt. My caſe is juſt the ſame: your Lordſhips aſſigned me Counſell, and ordered me peremptorily to put in my Anſwer under their hand by ſuch a day: I uſed all the induſtry I could to procure them to doe it, they neglect, or refuſe to doe it contrary to promiſe, I had no powet to compell them to it. When they refuſed, I ſent to your Lordſhip to deſire you to order them to ſigne it; you returned this Anſwer, that you had no power to enforce them: If your Lordſhip had no ſuch power being the Supreme Judge of this Court; much leſſe had I, being then a cloſe Priſoner. And therfore I humbly conceive, that the Order for taking the Information *pro confeſſo* for not putting in my Anſwer under Councells hands by a day, which was not in my power, is as unreaſonable, and

as

as much againſt Law, as the caſe I have put.

The caſe you have put is good Law, but ill applyed. *L. Keeper.*

I beſeech your Lordſhip to ſhew me a difference between them, for my own part I diſcerne none, there being the ſame reaſon in both: It wilbe a caſe of Dangerous conſequence, if a Client ſhall ſuffer for the Laches, or wilfullneſſe of his Counſell, which he cannot remedy, for by this meanes you may make the moſt Innocent perſon, (nay *Chriſt* himſelfe, if he ſtood before your Tribunal) guilty of what crimes you pleaſe. For if the Proſecuter be a potent man, no Counſell dare to ſigne his Anſwer, and he himſelfe may not be ſuffered to put in his Anſwer under his own hand; and then all you charge againſt him muſt be taken *pro confeſſo*, be he never ſo innocent. You aſſigned me two Counſellers; one of them fayled me, I could not compell him; here he is now before you, let him ſpeake, if I have not uſed all my indeavours to have him ſigne my Anſwer (which my other Counſell would have done, if this would have ſet his hand to it with him) and to have put it in longſince. *M. Prynne.*

My Lord, there was ſo long time ſpent ere I could do any thing, after I was aſſigned his Counſell, that it was impoſſible his Anſwer could be drawn up in ſo ſhort a time as was allotted; for after long expectation, ſeeing he came not to me, I by order of the Court went to him, where I found him ſhut up cloſe Priſoner, ſo that I could *M. Holt Counſell.*

not

not have accesse to him; Whereupon I motioned the Lieftenant of the Tower, to have free liberty of speech with him concerning his Answer; which being granted mee, I found him very willing and desirous to have it drawn up; whereupon I did move in this Court for longer time, which was granted; whereupon he sent me some 40. sheets of Instructions for his Answer; and soon after I received more; and then finding the Answer so long, and of such a nature, I durst not set my hand to it, for feare of giving your Honours distast.

M. Prynne. My Lords, I did nothing but according to the direction of my Counsell, my Answer was drawn up by their consent, according to their own minde, not my Instructions; it was their own act, they did approve of it: and M. *Holt* gave order to his Clerks to ingrosse it, & promised to signe it, but the next day refused. And if he be so base a Coward, to doe that in private, which he dares not acknowledge in publicke, I will not let the blame lye on my Conscience, let it rest with him. Here is my Answer, which though it be not signed with his hand, yet it is by my other Counsels, and here I tender it upon my Oath, which you cannot in Justice deny to accept.

L. Keeper. But Mr. *Prynne*, the Court desires no such long Answer; are you guilty or not guilty?

M. Prynne My good Lord, I am to answere in a defensive way, is here any one present that can witnes any thing

thing againſt me? If ſo, let him come in. The Law of *GOD* ſtandeth thus; *That a man is not to be condemned, but under the mouth of* * *two or three witneſſes.* And in the caſe of Libelling even againſt the King and Queen themſelvs; the * *Laws and Statutes of the Land* require either the voluntary confeſſion of the parties themſelves, or the Oaths of two ſubſtantiall witneſſes, brought face to face at the tryall, elſe there can be no conviction. Here you have no confeſſion of mine at all on which to proceed. Here is no witneſſe comes in againſt me, my Lord, neither is there in all the Information one clauſe that doth particularly fall on me, but onely in the generall: there is no booke layd to my charge. And ſhall I be condemned for a particular act, when no accuſation, or proof of any particular crime is or can be brought againſt me? This were injuſtice in the higheſt degree. Beſides, the things charged againſt us, are matters of Fact touching Innovations, which we cannot prove but by examination of witneſſes. If then you take all *pro confeſſo*, and reject our Anſwers, you take away all means and poſſibilities of making any defence, and of juſtifying our ſelves as we are able to doe: and ſo make us guilty, though never ſo able to vindicate our Innocencie. I deſire all here preſent to take notice, that here I tender my Anſwer to the Information upon my Oath. My Lord, you did impoſe impoſſibilities of putting in my Anſwer by the day aſſigned. I could doe no more then

* Deut. 17: 6. & 19. 15. Mat. 18. 16.

* 1. & 2. Phil. & Mary c. 3. 23. Eliz. c. 2.

then I was able. If you condemn me for this, I hope all the world will acquit me.

L. Keeper. Well, hold your peace, your Answer comes too late.

Speake you Dr. BASTWICKE.

Dr. BASTWICKE.

Dr. BASTVVICKS ANSWERE.

My good Lords,

THat your honours have given me li- *D. Bastwick.*
bertie to ſpeake for my ſelfe, I accept of it with all thankefulneſſe, and I moſt humbly intreate this noble aſſembly in the executing of juſtice and judgement, that you would ſet the example of God before your eies, who when hee went to deſtroy *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, as your honours may ſee in that parley that was betweene *Abraham* and him in the 18. of *Geneſis* 17. verſe, &c. hee ſaith there, ſhall I hide from *Abraham* the thing that I now doe? For I know that *Abraham* will teach his children and his houſhold after him, to keepe the way of the Lord, to doe juſtice and judgement. And what was the way of the Lord, my good Lords: and the Lord ſaid unto *Abraham*, becauſe the crie of *Sodome* and *Gomorrah* is great, and their ſinne is very grievous, I will now goe downe and ſee, whether they have done all things according to the crie that is come *Gen.* 18, 5.

upunto me, that I may know. Now my Lords, you are as Gods, ye are as the Sonnes of the moſt high, ye are as the Angels of the Lord in executing therefore of juſtice, and judgement this day, I ſhall moſt humbly intreate your honours to ſet this example of God before your eyes, whoſe place you now are in: *Come downe and ſee*, whether all things bee according to the crie and fame of Sir *John Bankes* the Attourney univerſall.

And firſt hee accuſeth mee to the King and this honourable Court, to be a maligner of his Majeſties government, and farther that I have made many bookes tending to ſedition, and ſtirring up a heate among the people, and to raiſe jealouſies in the breaſt of his Highneſſe loyall ſubjects, for the alienating of them from their dutie and obedience: but ſo farre my good Lords am I from being a maligner of his Majeſties government, as I have done nothing but out of conſcience of my dutie to my God and my King, and for the advancement of his prerogative Royall, and had I as many lives as I have haires of my head, I would bee prodigall of them all for the honour of the ſame. Let the King live for ever; ſo that your Honours may well perceive that Maſter Attourney beginnes his accuſation with a calumnie.

As for the bookes that are laied to my charge, and among others, the Divine tragedie and News from *Ipſwich*, I neither know the authors of them, nor the place where, nor the time when they were printed, and yet they are laied to my chargo,

charge, as if I had beene the compiler and maker of them.

My Lord Keeper then replying, Doctor *Baſt-wicke*, doe you not acknowledge the apologie *ad Præſules Anglicanos*, and the ſentences reade in it to bee your owne. My Lord, I acknowledge but part of it to bee mine: for after it was out of my hands, and gone beyond the ſeas, ſome man added ſomething of his, which I will not father, amongſt the which is one of the ſentences alledged againſt me; and I preſume your honours will not condemne me for another mans act. *L. Keeper.* *D. Bastwick.*

Then the Earle of Dorſet replying, Doctor *Baſtwick*, did not you ſend that book with a letter unto a Nobleman? My Lord I denie it not, but withall it was with a caution, diſtinguiſhing betweene mine owne writing, and that which was added, therefore I am moſt confident I ſhall not ſuffer for that; neither can I thinke your Honors will cenſure mee for that which no man can underſtand; for the Clarke of the Star-chamber hath ſo murdered my latine in the reading, as hee hath made nonſenſe of it; ſo that neither your Honours, nor the ſtanders by know what it meaneth; and had I not made it my ſelfe, it would have paſſed my intelligence, withall my Lords, I am moſt certaine that manie of this honourable aſſemblie underſtand it not, and others would not vouchſafe ſo much as to looke on it: and therefore I am well aſſured that you will not without mature deliberation paſſe ſentence a- *E. Dorſet.* *D. Bastwick.*

gainſt any whoſe cauſe you know not, nor take it *pro confeſſo* againſt him which hath uſed all poſſible meanes for the procuring of an anſwere under Counſells hands, but ſo cowardly and baſe I found them as that they durſt not ſign it for fear of the Prelates, which forced mee to tender it formerly into the Office ſubſcribed with my owne hand, of which proceedings there are many preſidents, and I moſt ſubmiſſively now againe preſent it heere in this honourable Court, deſiring it may be accepted of, proteſting that I have uſed my beſt indeavours for the getting of Counſells hand, but I finde all men fearefull in reſpect of the Prelates power and authoritie, and indeed trembling at their greateneſſe: ſo that I having bin wanting in nothing for the gratifying the order of this honorable Court, it cannot be taken *pro confeſſo*, eſpecially I exhibiting it now preſent here; *quod poſſumus, ſi non quod velimus amplectamur.* Therfore I moſt humbly againe and againe intreate your Honours to accept of it.

L. Keeper. My Lord Keeper then ſtanding up, ſaid, Doctor *Baſtwick*, wee have no neede of your anſwere.

D. Bastwick My Lord I moſt humbly beſeech your honours to accept of it: for it is pretended that it is taken *pro confeſſo*, as if wee had failed on our parts, either out of contempt to the order, or negligence, both which on mypart I am free from: and if your Honours ſhall refuſe it, then I proteſt before men and angells this day, that I will put this anſwere of mine in Romane buffe, and ſend it

it through the whole Chriſtian world, that all men may ſee my innocency, and your illegall proceedings, and this I will doe if I die for it, and then caſting it into the Court, my Lord Keeper ſaid, Doctor *Baſtwicke*, it ſeemes wee muſt have your anſwere.

The Earle of *Arundell* being then in Court, in great anger admired their Honours would ſuffer mee to trouble that honourable aſſemblie, ſeeing the cauſe was taken *pro confeſſo*, to which I replying, anſwered, my Lord of *Arundell*, I wonder that a Prince and a Peere of this kingdome ſhould offer a Poore ſubject ſo great an indignitie, as not to ſuffer him to ſpeak for himſelfe: for it was never yet knowne that any man was condemned before hee was heard ſpeake for himſelfe, as wee may ſee in *Nicodemus* his ſpeech, who when the Jewes would have condemned Chriſt being abſent 7. *Joh.* 51. doth our law, ſaith he, condemne any man before wee have heard him? Nay my Lords, heare what *Feſtus* ſaid to King *Agrippa* when the Jewes ſought judgement againſt *Paul*, it is not ſaith hee, the manner of the Romanes to deliver any man over to death, before the accuſer and the accuſed have beene brought face to face, and that the accuſed have libertie to ſpeak for himſelfe. Thus my Lords, I have ſet before your eyes the example of God, the law of God, and the law of Nature; if all theſe may not bee a preſident for you to follow, I ſhall moſt humbly intreate you to conſider your owne example:

for your Honours may remember the last Terme, in the suite that depended in this honourable Court between Sir *James Baggs* and my Lord *Mohun*, that after the bills and informations had bin heard on both sides, the answere on both sides, the depositions on both sides, the counsell on both sides, yet after all this, when there was nothing wanting to the full dilucidation of all the difference that was between them to all the standers by, yet after all this, some of this honourable Court rose up, and humbly desired a farther time to deliberate before they came to sentence: for in conscience, (they saied) they could not so precipitately goe to judgement. Now my Lords, if in a difference betwixt two private subjects, there was such deliberation to bee used then in this a businesse that concernes not onelie the honour of God, but the honour of the King, the honour of our Religion, the honour of our Country, and indeede the honour of you all, I say, in this a businesse of so elevated a nature and so transcendent a seriositie, I shall most earnestly intreate your Honours not so precipitately to goe to censure; I hope my Lords, there is as much conscience in those noble breasts of yours this Terme, as was in any Preists the last. My Lords, I know that some of this honourable assemblie have been sword-men, and I my selfe have beene a souldier: now if any man should challenge another into the field to fight with him, and when he had brought him into the place of duell, should by the power and

and authoritie of the magiſtrate take away all his weapons of defence, and leave him onelie a kisk or a bull-ruſh in his hand to defend himſelfe, and ſhould then fall upon him and hacke him, would not all the world conclude that hee were a moſt baſe and cowardlie fellow? in the very ſame manner my Lords the Prelates deale with us: they have dared us heere into the field of this honourable high Court of Star-chamber, making the Nobilitie and Peeres of the Kingdome ſpectators, and wee are no ſooner entred into the place of combat, but the Prelates by order of the Court hath taken away all our weapons of defence, and now they fall upon us to cut off our eares: Nay my Lords it highlie concernes your Honours to take heede of leaving ſuch preſidents behind you, leaſt you expoſe your ſelves and your poſteritie to eminent danger: for you may well remember that one that was a prime and eminent Judge in this honourable aſſemblie, is now haled into this Court like a beare to a ſtake, by thoſe our adverſaries, and that it may bee the condition of any of this noble aſſemblie: therefore if you ſhall leave ſuch a preſident of taking things *pro confeſſo* upon record, your Honours ſhall involve your ſelves, and your poſteritie in inevitable danger. My Lords I underſtand there is a Decree gone forth (for my ſentence was paſſed long ſince) to cut off my eares. What? ſaith my Lord Keeper, Doctor *Baſtwick*, who ſhall know our ſentence before the Court paſſe it? doe you give ſentence againſt *Lo. Keeper.*

your

your selfe, or are you a prophet that you speake thus? my Lord what I say, I am able to prove by a cloud of witnesses, for it came from the mouth of the Prelates owne servants, and it was divulged through towne and countrie; by them and the Priests in *August* last, that Doctor *Bastwick* should loose his eares, I shall therefore now presume onely to beseech you to give mee leave to say unto your honours, as *Paul* spake unto the Centurion, when they went about to whippe him, what saith hee, will yee whip a Romane? So my good Lords, let mee say unto your Honours, what will you cut off a true and loyall subjects eares for doing his duty to his King and Countrey? will you cut off a schollers eares? will you cut off a doctor of physicks eares, able to cure Lords, Peeres, Kings, and Emperors? will you cut off a souldiers eares, able to leade an army into the field for the honour of his King and Countrey? will you cut off a Christians eares? will you make curs of Christians, my Lords? will you cut off a Catholicke, Apostolicke, a Romanes eares? *Andres*, ἄνδρες, καὶ *pateres*, men, brethren, and fathers, what an age do we live in, that we must thus be exposed unto the mercilesse furie of every malignant spirit? then my Lord Keeper replying, said Doctor *Bastwicke*, you are now angrie, you shall speake no more, and although Doctor *Bastwicke* answer'd, hee was not angry, but earnest, yet hee would not suffer him to goe on, telling him it was not the cause of the day, and so interrupting him, said hold your peace. Well Mr. *Burton*, what say you? Mr.

Act. 22. 25.

Mr. BVRTONS ANSWERE.

My honourable Lords, ſaid hee, I take the hint of what I ſhall, with your Lordſhips favour briefly ſpeake in this my cauſe, from that one particular paſſage in Mr. Atturneys ſpeech, wherein hee chargeth mee with contempt of this honourable Court, in my not anſwering interrogatories. This is the maine thing that toucheth mee, and the onelie cauſe (as is pretended) of my ſtanding heere before this honourable Court this daie, to bee proceeded againſt and cenſured *pro confeſſo*. For contempt of this honourable Court? a thing my Lords, which I ever utterly abhorred, as having beene upon all occaſions a teacher of all due obedience, and reverence to the higher powers, and a practizer thereof in mine owne perſon, for a preſident to others, and which my whole carriage in all this cauſe hitherto can witneſſe. As for the occaſion and cauſe of my refuſall to anſwere the interrogatories, to which the pretended contempt is imputed, it is this: My anſwere to the information being drawne up by *Mr. Burton.*

one of my Counſel, and ingroſſed, he refuſed to ſigne it, unleſſe the reſt of my Counſell aſſigned, would alſo ſigne it; but they refuſing, hee alſo refuſed: whereupon a motion being made in this honourable Court, *May* 10. it was then eſpecially ordered, that hee who drew my anſwere up, ſhould ſigne it. This being accordingly done, I did forthwith the ſelfe-ſame daie put it into the Court, upon oath, that it was a true anſwere, and ſo it was without any exception admitted and accepted. From that daie, I daiely expected in my cloſe priſon the examiners comming with the interrogatories, with no other reſolution but to anſwere them, according to the uſuall manner. But hee not coming in ſixe daies, I thereupon writ a letter to Maſter Atturney generall (who can heere teſtifie ſo much) wherein I earneſtly intreated him to haſten the interrogatories, that ſo I might petition the Lords for ſom liberty from my cloſe impriſonment, both in regard of the hot ſeaſon, and contagion, as alſo that I might uſe all lawful means for the defence of my cauſe: but yet the interrogatories came not. At the laſt, *May* 22. my anſwere in Court conſiſting of two diſtinct and intire parts, an affirmative and a negative was, as touching the whole affirmative part, of what I neceſſarily confeſſed, according to the charge in the information, together with all my reaſons and grounds, pertinent to the juſtification thereof, altogether expunged by the two Lords cheife Juſtices, as impertinent and ſcandalous

lous; as appears by their certificate under their ſeveral hands, *May* 23. and ſo remaines upon the file, with onely a generall not-guiltie left, which contradicteth the part expunged, touching the thing confeſſed. So as the examiner at length coming with interrogatories, *May* 29. and requiring my anſwere to them: I anſwered him, that I heard my anſwere was expunged, which he affirming to bee ſo, then I told him I thought my ſelfe no farther bound to anſwere to interrogatories, ſeeing ſo to anſwere, being reckoned as a part of my anſwere in court, now expunged, as impertinent, and ſcandalous, I ſhould thereby aſſent to the expunging, and ſo condemne my cauſe before the hearing; which I durſt not doe. This anſwere he returned (as he ſaid) to my Lord Keeper, ſo as an order was thereupon made in court, *June* 2. that unleſſe I did within ſeaven daies anſwere to the interrogatories, I ſhould bee proceeded againſt *pro confeſſo*, for all the charges contained in the information. This order being brought mee by the examiner, I told him I would conſider of it, the beſt I could in the meane time, being not permitted to goe to my counſell. Heereupon conſulting with my God, and my ſelfe, ſundrie reaſons offered themſelves, whereby I was perſwaded, that I ought not (the caſe now ſo ſtanding) to anſwere to interrogatories. Of theſe reaſons I ſent a coppie within the time limited, to the examiner, deſiring him to give them into the court, and another coppie parallell, I ſent to my Lord

Keeper yeſterdaie, which his Lordſhip perceived. And heere is another copie of the ſame reaſons, which I humblie tender to this honourable court, that it may bee heere publikelie read.

Heere the Lord *Keeper* refuſing to receive theſe reaſons, ſaid, hee had reade them the laſt night, but nothing in them of anie moment.

Then Mr. *Burton* deſired that the copie of his ſaid anſwere, as hee put it intire into the court, and which he then tendred to the court (not that hee renounced (as hee ſaid) his ſaid anſwere, as it was firſt put into the court, but ſtill avowed it for his anſwere) might there bee reade in open court, that the whole court might judge, whether ſuch a whole anſwere ſo expunged, were impertinent and ſcandalous. But this was likewiſe refuſed.

Lo. Finch. Then ſaid the Lord *Finch*, Mr. *Burton*, the Judges did you a good turne, to expunge your anſwere as impertinent, for it was as libellous, as your booke, ſo that your anſwere alone, deſerved a cenſure. Although (ſaid hee) all that was expunged was not impertinent, and ſcandalous, but the impertinencies were ſo mingled with the reſt, that it was neceſſarie all ſhould bee expunged.

Mr. *Burton* then tooke occaſion to declare upon what ground hee was firſt brought into this trouble, that ſo it might the better appeare, how his ſaid anſwere was not impertinent and ſcandalous, but a juſt anſwere to thoſe charges againſt him

him, in the information, in point of ſedition and libelling. For (ſayd he) on the fift of *November* laſt, I preached in my owne Church on this text, (*Proverbs* 20, 21, 22.) *My Sonne, feare thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change*, &c. Whereby, as my text led mee, I tooke fit occaſion, in diſcharge of my miniſteriall dutie, and my conſcience therein, to exhort my people to feare God and the King, in yeelding al due obedience to both, & to admoniſh them to take heed, of thoſe innovations which were creeping, and crowding in amongſt us, and to have nothing to doe with them, as the Text admoniſheth. For which ſermons being cited into the High Commiſſion Court, I conceiving, that ſuch matters were moſt worthy of the cogniſance of the King himſelfe, appealed to his Majeſtie, and being notwithſtanding further proſecuted in the ſame Court, even unto ſuſpenſion, *ab officio, & beneficio*, I thought it neceſſarie to ſet forth the ſumme of the ſaid two ſermons, with an Apologie of an Appeale, and Epiſtles to his Majeſtie, to his honourable Nobilitie, and to the Reverend Judges, and all to the end, that due notice being taken by the King, and them, of ſuch innovations, as were by mee noted, a juſt reformation might follow, for which onely end I publiſhed my booke. *Mr. Burton.*

Heere my Lord *Keeper* interrupted him, ſaying, Mr. *Burton*, we ſit not heere to meddle with matters of Religion; but doe you confeſſe the booke *Lo. Keeper.*

to bee yours? Are you guiltie, or not guiltie?

Mr. Burton My Lord (sayd hee) I doe not avow that for my book, which is affixed to the information, seeing I never read it, and there may be many things in it misprinted: but I acknowledge, that I wrote such a booke, so intituled.

L. Keeper. Then his Lordship asked him, what he answered to those passages in his book excepted against by the Kings Counsell, so full of sharpe language unbeseeming a Minister?

Mr. Burton To which he answered, saying, my Lord, if I might have time, and leave of this honourable Court, I should answere both to those places, and all other in the said booke, being readie to prove the truth of the things therein contained. And as for sharpnesse of language, my Lord, a Minister hath a greater latitude in reproving of sin, then ordinary men.

Heere is to be noted by the way, that they could object no such thing against Mr. *Burton* in his whole booke, as sedition, whereof the information charged him; having nothing against him, but saying onely that he was too sharpe.

Lo. Keeper. Then againe the Lord *Keeper* cut him off, turning his speech to Mr. *Prynne*. But Mr. *Burton* taking a fit opportunity, craved leav of his Lordship to speake one word, as a Minister of God: leave being given him, hee said, I pray God that this honourable Court in the judgement of this cause, doe nothing this day, whereby they may sin against God.

Heere

Heere againe, my Lord *Keeper* ſaid, Mr. *Burton*, we ſit not heere to day to heare you preach; this is a place, where your ſelfe ſhould crave mercy and favour, and not ſtand upon ſuch termes, as you doe. *Lo. Keeper.*

My Lord (ſaid Mr. *Burton*) if in any thing I have through humane infirmitie offended, I crave pardon of God and man. *Mr. Burton.*

Heere Mr. *Prynne* craving leave to ſpeake, and coming to a cloſe, Mr. *Burton* deſired but one word more: leave being given, hee ſaid, my Lords, I perceive how I am brought into a great ſtreight, either to deſert my cauſe, and my conſcience, or to expoſe my perſon to the cenſure of this honourable Court; and ſeeing the neceſſitie of one of theſe two, I have, and doe, without any further deliberation, reſolve, rather to expoſe my perſon to the cenſure of this honourable Court, then to deſert my cauſe and my conſcience.

Heere Mr. *Burton* ending his ſpeech, a great humme was made in the roome, by many of the hearers, as an expreſſion of their joy, being much affected with this his Chriſtian reſolution.

Then the Priſoners deſiring to ſpeake a little more for themſelves, were commanded to ſilence. And ſo the Lords proceeded to Cenſure. *Priſoners.*

The

The Lord Cottingtons Cenſure.

I Condemne theſe three men to looſe their eares in the Pallace-yard at Weſtminſter; To be fined five thouſand pounds a man to his Majeſty: And to perpetuall impriſonment, in three remote places of the Kingdom, namely, the Caſtles of Carnarvan, Cornwall, and Lancaſter.

The Lord Finch added to the Cenſure.

MR. Prynne to be ſtigmatized in the Cheekes, with two Letters (S & L) for a Seditious Libeller. To Which, all the Lords agreed. And ſo the Lord Keeper concluded the Cenſure.

THE MANNER OF THE EXECVTION of the Lords Censure.

ON the 30th day of June 1637. followed the Execution of the Lords Censure in Starre-Chamber upon Dr. *Bastwicke*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Mr. *Burton*, in the Pallace-yard at *Westminster*, at the spectation whereof the number of people was so great, (the place being very large) that it caused admiration in all that beheld them; who came with tender affections to behold those Three renowned Souldiers and Servants of *Jesus Christ*, who came with most undaunted and magnanimous courage therunto, having their way strawed with sweet hearbs from the House out of which they came to the Pillory, with all the honour that could be done unto them.

Dr. *Bastwicke* and Mr. *Burton* first meeting, they did close one in the others armes three times, with as much expressions of love as might be, re-

joycing that they met at ſuch a place, upon ſuch an occaſion, and that *God* had ſo highly honoured them, as to call them forth to ſuffer for his glorious Truth.

Then immediately after Mr. *Pryme* came, the Dr. and he ſaluted each other, as Mr. *Burton* and he did before. The Dr. then went up firſt on the Scaffold, and his Wife immediately following came up to him, and like a loving Spouſe ſaluted each Eare with a kiſſe, and then his mouth; whoſe tender love, boldnes, and chearfullnes ſo wrought upon the peoples affections, that they gave a marveilous great ſhout, for joy to behold it. Her Husband deſired her not to be in the leaſt manner diſmay'd at his ſuffrings: And ſo for a while they parted, ſhe uſing theſe words: *Farewell my Deareſt, be of good comfort, I am nothing diſmay'd.* And then the Dr. began to ſpeake theſe words.

Dr. *Baſtwi.* There are many that are this day Spectators of our ſtanding here, as Delinquents, though not Delinquents, we bleſſe God for it. I am not conſcious to my ſelfe wherein I have committed the leaſt treſpaſſe (to take this outward ſhame) either againſt my *God*, or my King. And I doe the rather ſpeak it, that you that are now beholders, may take notice, how farre Innocencie will preſerve you in ſuch a day as this is; for we come here in the ſtrength of our *God*, who hath mightily ſupported us, and filled our hearts with greater comfort then our ſhame or contempt can be.

The firſt occaſion of my trouble was by the Prelates,

Prelates, for writing a Book againſt the Pope, and the Pope of *Canterbury* ſayd I wrote againſt him, and therfore queſtioned me: But if the Preſſes were as open to us, as formerly have been, we would ſhatter his Kingdome about his eares: But be ye not deterred by their power, neither be affrighted at our ſufferings; Let none determine to turne from the wayes of the *Lord*, but goe on, fight couragiouſly againſt *Gog* and *Magog*. I know there be many here who have ſet many dayes apart for our behalfe, (let the Prelates take notice of it) and they have ſent up ſtrong prayers to heaven for us, we feele the ſtrength and benefit of them at this time; I would have you to take notice of it; we have felt the ſtrength and benefit of your prayers all along this Cauſe. In a word, ſo farre I am from baſe feare, or caring for any thing they can doe, or caſt upon me, that had I as much blood as would ſwell the Thames; I would ſhed it every droppe in this cauſe. Therfore be not any of you diſcouraged, be not daunted at their power, ever labouring to preſerve innocencie, and keep peace within, goe on in the ſtrength of your *God*, and he will never fayle you, in ſuch a day as this; As *I* ſaid before, ſo *I* ſay againe; Had *I* as many lives as *I* have haires on my head, or drops of blood in my veynes, I would give them up all for this Cauſe. This plot of ſending us to thoſe remote places, was firſt conſulted and agitated by the Jeſuites, as *I* can make it plainly appeare. O ſee what times we are fallen

into, that the Lords muſt ſit to act the Jeſuites plots! For our own parts, we owe no malice to the perſons of any of the Prelates, but would lay our necks under their feet to doe them good as they are men; but againſt the uſurpation of their power, as they are Biſhops, we doe profeſſe out ſelves enemies till dooms day.

Mr. *Prynne* ſhaking the Dr. by the hand, deſired him that he might ſpeake a word or two. With all my heart, ſaid the Dr.

Mr. Prynne. Who it is (ſaid Mr. *Prynne*) that hath been the cauſe of bringing us all to this Execution, I need not nominate, it being ſo well known to moſt here preſent.

The only cauſe of my ſtanding here, is for not putting in my Anſwer under Counſels hand, for which the Information was taken *pro confeſſo* againſt me. What endeavours I uſed for the bringing in thereof, *God*, my owne Conſcience, yea and my Counſell know, whoſe cowardiſe ſtands upon Record to all ages. For my own part rather then I will have my caſe a leading caſe, to deprive the Subjects of their Liberty which I ſeek to maintaine, I will joyfully expoſe my perſon to be a leading example, to beare this puniſhment. I beſeech you all to take notice of their proceeding againſt me in this cauſe. When I was ſerved with a Subpæna into the Court, I was ſhortly after my appearance ſhut up cloſe priſoner, that I could have no acceſſe to Counſell, nor admitted pen, inke, or paper to draw up my Anſwer,

ſwer, nor Inſtructions for my Counſell: My Servant which ſhould ſollicit my buſineſſe was detained cloſe priſoner in a Meſſengers hands without bayle or mainpriſe; My Chamber ſearched: part of my Anſwer formerly drawn ſeiſed on by a Clerke of the Counſell; Liberty to put in an Anſwer under my own hand according to former preſidents, denyed me; though a Counſellor at Law; when my aſſigned Counſell upon my earneſt Petitions was ſent to the Tower, I feed him to draw up my Anſwer, which he did after his own minde, not my Inſtructions, promiſed to ſigne it, gave order to his Clerks to ingroſſe it, which they did, for which I payd them; and when this was drawn, he refuſed utterly to ſigne it; having received an expreſſe command from ſome great ones (as he told both me and my Keeper) not to ſigne it, being threatned to be put from the Barre if he did it. After this, I got Mr. *Tomlins* another of my Counſell to ſigne it, and then tendred it with another Anſwer ſigned with my own hand, both at the Office, and in the open Court at the hearing; which refuſed to admit thereof: and yet condemned me for a Contempt in refuſing to anſwer, when I tendred two Anſwers, and they without juſt cauſe rejected both. I appeale to all the world, if this were a legall or juſt proceeding. Our accuſation is in point of Libell (but ſuppoſedly) againſt the Prelates. To cleare this now, I will give you a little light, what the Law is in point of Libell (of which profeſſion I have ſomtimes

times been, and ſtill profeſſe my ſelf to have ſome knowledge in.) You ſhall finde in caſe of Libell, two Statutes: The one in the 1. and 2. of Queen *Mary* c. 3. which Enacts, *That if any ſhall maliciouſly of his own Imagination ſpeake or vent any falſe, ſeditious and ſlanderous News, rumours, Sayings or Tales of the King or Queen*, &c. *that every perſon ſo offending being thereof lawfully convicted by verdict, his own voluntary confeſſion, or the Oathes of 2. ſufficient witneſſes brought face to face at the tryall, ſhalbe ſet openly upon the Pillory in ſome market place within the Shire, City or Towne where the words were ſpoken, and there to have both his Eares cut off, unleſſe he pay one hundred pounds to the King and Queens highnes uſe within one moneth, next after judgement given of his ſaid offence, alſo ſhall ſuffer impriſonment by the ſpace of three moneths next after ſuch his execution.* The other Statute is that of 23. *Eliz. c.* 2. which goeth ſomwhat further then the former, and enacts, *That if any perſon ſhould adviſedly and with a malitious intent ſpeake or vent any falſe, ſeditious and ſlanderous News, rumours, Sayings, or Tales againſt the Queens Majeſty, that was, & ſhould be therof lawfully convicted in manner aforeſaid, then he ſhould be openly ſet upon the Pillory and there to have both his Eares cut off, or at the election of the offendor to pay two hundred pound to the Queens uſe in the receipt of the Eſchequer, within two moneths next after the Judgement given; and ſhall alſo ſuffer ſix moneths impriſonment after ſuch his conviction without bayle or mainprize.* Now conſider the great diſparity between thoſe times of Queen *Mary*,

and

and Queen *Elizabeth*, and ours now. In Queen *Maries* bloody dayes, a malitious and seditious reporter of false News and Libeller against the King and Queen themselves was only to be set on the Pillory, imprisoned but for 3 moneths, and that at large in ordinary Prisons, and had power to redeem the losse of both his Eares by paying but an hundred pound to the Queens use within one moneth next after the Judgement given: In Queen *Elizabeths* reigne, such a Delinquent was to suffer but 6 moneths Imprisonment, and had power at his free election to redeem the losse of his Eares by paying two hundred pound to the Queens use, within two moneths next after the judgement; And this only in the case of the King and Queen. But now the world is strangely altered. Formerly there was no such Fine for such Libellous News and Speeches against the King and Queen: Now we are Fined no lesse then five thousand pound a piece, for a meere supposed Libell against a Prelate or two: Formerly, there was only 3 or 6 moneths Imprisonment, yet the most prescribed, and that at large in ordinary Prisons belonging to the Kings Courts. Now we are to undergoe perpetuall close Imprisonment, and that in the remotest Castles farre distant from all our Friends, whither none were ever sent by this Court before: and none of our Friends must be permitted to see us. Then had the Delinquents power at their own Election to redeem the losse of both their Eares by the payment of 100, or

200

200 pound at moſt within one moneth or two after their Cenſure, and if they loſt them, payd no Fine at all; We muſt loſe both our Eares abſolutely, without any power of Redemption, and yet pay a Fine of 5000 pound a piece to boot. Then there was no ſtigmatizing at all: Now muſt I be viſibly branded on both Cheeks. In thoſe dayes none could be committed but by verdict, voluntary confeſſion, or the Oathes of two ſufficient Witneſſes: We were condemned, and the Information taken *pro confeſſo* without either verdict, confeſſion, or ſo much as one Witneſſe produced againſt us. See now into what times we are fallen, when as Libelling (if it were ſo) againſt Prelates only is ten times more ſeverely cenſured, and deemed a farre greater Offence then Libelling againſt King or Queene in theſe late Princes dayes.

That which I have to ſpeake of next, is this: The Prelates finde themſelves exceedingly vexed and agrieved with us that we affirme their Epiſcopall Juriſdiction and Superintendency over other Miniſters not to be *Jure divino*. I make no doubt, but there are ſome of the Biſhops Intelligencers or Abettors within the hearing, whom I would have well to know and take notice of what I now ſay. I here in this place make this offer to them, That if I may be admitted a fayre Diſpute, on fayre termes, I will maintaine, and doe here make the challenge againſt all the Prelates in the Kings Dominions, and againſt all the

the Prelates in Chriſtendome, (let them take in the Pope, and all his Cardinals to helpe them) that I will make it good againſt them all; that *their Prelaticall Lordly Juriſdiction over Preſbyters, and their preſent Calling is not Jure Divino.* I will ſpeake it againe, I make the challenge againſt all the Prelates in the Kings Dominions, and in all Chriſtendome to maintaine, that *the Biſhops Juriſdiction and Calling, as now they claime and exerciſe it, is not Jure Divino.* If I make it not good, let me be hanged up at the Hall-Gate: whereupon the people gave a great ſhout.

The next thing that I am to ſpeake of, is this: The Prelates find themſelves exceedingly agrieved and vext againſt what I have affirmed in point of Law, concerning their Writs and Proces, That the ſending forth of Writs and Proces in their own name, and under their own Seales is * againſt Law, and doth entrench on his Majeſties Prerogative Royall, and the Subjects Liberties. And here now I make a ſecond Challenge againſt all the Lawyers in the Kingdome in a fayre Diſpute, That I will maintaine the Prelates ſending forth of Writs and Proces in their own names, and under their own Seales, to be againſt Law, and to entrench on his Majeſties Prerogative Royall, and the Subjects Liberty; leaſt it ſhould be forgotten, I ſpeake it againe, I here challenge all the whole Society of the Law upon a faire Diſpute to maintaine, That the ſending forth of Writs and Proces in the Prelates own names, and under

* See this fully proved in the Breviate; and in the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, p. 330. to 335.

their own Seales, to be againſt Law, and to entrench on the Kings Prerogative Royall, and the Subjects Liberty. If I be not able to make it good, let me be put to the tormentingeſt death they can deviſe.

We praiſe the *Lord*, we feare none but *God* and the King: Had we reſpected our Liberties, we had not ſtood here at this time: it was for the generall good and Liberties of you all that we have now thus farre ingaged our owne Liberties in this Cauſe. For did you know, how deeply they have entrenched on your Liberties in point of Law, and upon our eſtabliſhed Religion in point of Popery; If you knew but into what times you are caſt, it would make you look about you: And if you did but ſee what changes and revolutions of Laws, Religions, and Ceremonies have been made of late by one man, you would more narrowly looke into your Priviledges, and ſee how farre your Liberty did lawfully extend, and ſo maintaine it.

This is the ſecond time that I have beene brought to ſuffer in this place, who hath been the Author of it, I thinke you all well know: For the firſt time, if leave had been given me, to make my owndefence, I could eaſily have cleared my ſelf of that which was then layd to my charge: As alſo I could have done now, if I might have been permitted to ſpeake or anſwer. That Book for which I ſuffered formerly (onely for ſome particular words and paſſages therein, which I quoted out of

Gods

Gods Word and ancient Fathers, for which notwithſtanding, they paſſed Cenſure on me,) That ſame Book was twice licenſed by publicke Authoritie, and the ſame words I then ſuffered for, they are ſince againe made uſe of, and applyed in the ſame ſence by *Heylin* in his Book, called *The Hiſtory of the Sabbath:* part 2. p. 207. lately Printed, dodicated to the King, and no exceptions taken againſt them, but are very well accepted of, though he was the chiefe underhand proſecuter againſt me, and drew up the Inſtructions which the Kings Counſell inſiſted on at the hearing. *Haud equidem invideo, miror magis.*

Aye (ſaid Dr. *Baſtwicke*) and there is another Book of his licenſed, wherein he rayles againſt us Three at his pleaſure; and againſt all the Martyrs that ſuffered in Queen *Maries* dayes, calling them Schiſmaticall Hereticks. And there is another Book of *Pocklingtons* licenſed; they be as full of lyes, as dogges be full of fleas; but were the Preſſes as open to us, as they are to them, we would pay them and their great Maſter that upholds them, and charge them with notorious Blaſphemie. Dr. *Baſt.*

Sayd Mr. *Prynne*, You all at this preſent ſee, there be no degrees, or profeſſions of men exempted from ſuffering under the Prelates malice. Here is a Reverend Divine for the Soule, a Phyſitian for the Body, and a Lawyer for the Eſtate: I had thought they would have let alone thoſe of their own Rochet, and not have medled with any of their own Sacred Order. And yet the next *M. Prynne,*

(for ought I know) that is to follow us and receive a Cenſure in Starre-chamber, is like to be a Biſhop. You ſee they ſpare none of what ſociety or calling ſoever, none are exempted that croſſe their owne ends. Gentlemen, look to your ſelves; you know not whoſe turne may be next: If all the Martyrs that ſuffered in Queen *Maries* dayes, are accounted and called Schiſmaticall Hereticks, Factious Fellows; Traytors and Rebels, condemned by Holy Church: What ſhall we look for? Yet ſo they are ſtyled in a Book written by Dr. *Pocklington*, licenſed for the Preſſe by the Archbiſhops own Chaplaine, and intituled *Altare Chriſtianum*, pag 92. And ſuch Factious Fellows, Hereticks, and Rebels are we accounted, for diſcovering a plot of Popery. Alas poore *England!* what will become of thee and thy Religion, if thou look not the ſooner into thy own perplexed condition, and maintaineſt not thine own eſtabliſhed Faith and lawfull Liberties! Chriſtian people, I beſeech you all, ſtand firme, and be zealous for the cauſe of *God*, and his true Religion, to the ſhedding of your deareſt blood, otherwiſe you will bring your ſelves, and your Poſterities, into perpetuall bondage and ſlavery, to theſe Romiſh Innovators, and Tyrannizing Prelates.

The Archprelate of *Canterbury* being informed by ſome of his Spies what Mr. *Prynne* ſpake, as he was ſitting in the Starre-chamber, moved the Lords, that Mr. *Prynne* might be gagged, and have ſome

ſome further Cenſure layd, and preſently executed upon him: ſuch was his Arch-grace, and ſuperaboundant pitty.

To which the Lord Keeper anſwered, That his Grace ſhould doe well not to take notice of what men ſpake when they were in paine on the Pillorie, their very ſtanding on it being ſufficient to diſcredit all they uttered: and ſo it reſted.

Mr.

Mr. Burtons heavenly and comfortable Speech, which he made at the time of his ſuffering, both before, and while he ſtood in the Pillory, which was ſet ſomething diſtant from the other double Pillory, wherein Dr. *Baſtwicke* and Mr. *Prynne* ſtood.

THE night before his ſuffering, about eight a clocke, when he firſt had certaine notice thereof, upon occaſion of his Wives going to aske the Warden, whether her Husband ſhould ſuffer the next day, immediately he felt his ſpirits to be rayſed to a farre higher pitch of reſolution and courage to undergoe his ſufferings, then formerly he did, ſo as he intreated the *Lord* to hold up his Spirits at that height all the next day in his ſufferings, that he might not flagge nor faint, leaſt any diſhonour might come to his Majeſtie, or the cauſe: And the *Lord* heard him: For all the next day in his ſuffering (both before and after) his ſpirits were carried aloft as it were upon Eagles wings (as himſelfe ſayd) farre above all apprehenſion of ſhame or paine.

The next morning (being the day of his ſufferings) he was brought to *Weſtminſter*, and with much

much cheerefullnes being brought into the Pallace-yard unto a Chamber that looked into the Yard, where he viewed three Pillories there ſet up: Me thinks (ſayd he) I ſee *Mount Calvary*, where the three Croſſes, (one for *Chriſt*, and the other two for the two theeves) were pitched: And if *Chriſt* were numbred among theeves, ſhall a Chriſtian (for *Chriſts* cauſe) thinke much to be numbred among Rogues, ſuch as we are condemned to be? Surely if I be a Rogue, I am *Chriſts* Rogue, and no mans. And a little after, looking out at the Caſement towards the Pillory, he ſaid: I ſee no difference between looking out of this ſquare window and yonder round hole, (poynting towards the Pillory) he ſaid: It is no matter of difference to an honeſt man. And a little after that, looking ſomwhat wiſtly upon his Wife, to ſee how ſhe did take it; ſhe ſeemed to him to be ſomthing ſadde; to whom he thus ſpake: Wife, why art thou ſo ſad? To whom ſhe made anſwer; Sweet heart, I am not ſad: No ſayd he? See thou be not, for I would not have thee to diſhonour the day, or to darken the glory of it, by ſhedding one teare, or fetching one ſigh: for behold there for thy comfort my triumphant Chariot, on the which I muſt ride for the honour of my Lord and Maſter: And never was my Wedding day ſo welcome, and joyfull a day, as this day is; and ſo much the more, becauſe I have ſuch a noble Captaine and Leader, who hath gone before me with ſuch undaunted neſſe of ſpirit, that he ſaith of himſelfe,

I gave

I gave my backe to the ſmiters, my cheeks to the nippers, they pluckt off the haire, I hid not my face, from ſhame and ſpitting; for the Lord God will helpe me: therfore ſhall I not be confounded; therfore have I ſet my face like a flint, and I know I ſhall not be aſhamed.

At length being carryed toward the Pillory, he met Dr. *Baſtwicke* at the foot of the Pillory, where they lovingly ſaluted and embraced each other; and parting a little from him, he returned, (ſuch was the ardencie of his affection) and moſt affectionately embraced him the ſecond time, being heartily ſorry he miſſed Mr. *Prynne*, who was not yet come before he was gone up to his Pillory, which ſtood alone next the Star-Chamber, and about halfe a ſtones caſt from the other double Pillory, wherein the other two ſtood: ſo as all their faces looked Southward, the bright Sunne all the while for the ſpace of two houres ſhining upon them; Being ready to be put into the Pillory, ſtanding upon the Scaffold, he ſpied Mr. *Prynne* new come to the Pillory, and Dr. *Baſtwicke* in the Pillory, who then haſted off his Band, and called for a Handkerchiefe, ſaying What, ſhall I be laſt? or ſhall I be aſhamed of a Pillory for *Chriſt*, who was not aſhamed of a Croſſe for me? Then being put into the Pillory, he ſaid: Good people, I am brought hither to be * *a ſpectacle to the world*, to Angels, and to men; And howſoever I ſtand here to undergoe the puniſhment of a Rogue, yet except to be a faithfull Servant to *Chriſt*, and a loyall Subject to the King,

1 * 1 Cor. 4 9.

be

be the property of a Rogue, I am no Rogue. But yet if to be *Christs* faithfull Servant, and the Kings loyall Subject, deſerve the puniſhment of a Rogue, I glory in it, and I bleſſe my *God*, my conſcience is cleare, and is not ſtained with the guilt of any ſuch crime, as I have been charged with, though otherwiſe I confeſſe my ſelfe to be a man ſubject to many frailties and humane infirmities. Indeed that Book intituled, *An Apologie of an Appeale*, with ſundry *Epiſtles*, and *two Sermons*, *for God and the King*, charged againſt me in the Information, I have and doe acknowledge (the miſprinting excepted) to be mine, and will by *Gods* grace never diſclayme it whilſt I have breath within mee. After a while, he having a Noſegay in his hand, a Bee came and pitched on the Noſegay, and began to ſucke the Flowers very ſavourly, which he beholding and well obſerving, ſayd, Doe ye not ſee this poore Bee? She hath found out this very place to ſuck ſweetneſſe from theſe Flowers; And cannot I ſuck ſweetneſſe in this very place from *Chriſt*? The Bee ſucking all this while, and ſo took her flight. By and by he took occaſion from the ſhining of the Sunne, to ſay, You ſee how the Sunne ſhines upon us, but that ſhines aſwell upon *the evill as the good, upon the juſt and unjuſt*, but the *Sunne of righteouſneſſe* (*Jeſus Chriſt* who *hath healing under his wings*) ſhines upon the ſoules and conſciences of every true beleever onely, and no cloud can hide him from us, to make him aſhamed of us, no not of our moſt ſhamefull ſufferings for Mal. 4. 2.

his ſake: And why ſhould we be aſhamed to ſuffer for his ſake, who hath ſuffered for us? All our ſufferings be but fleabitings to that he endured,
Heb. 12. 2. *He endured the Croſſe, and deſpiſed the ſhame, and is ſet on the right hand of God:* He is a moſt excellent patterne for us to look upon, that treading in his ſteppes, and ſuffering with him, we may be glorified with him. And what can we ſuffer, wherein he hath not gone before us, even in the ſame kind? Was he not degraded, when they ſcornfully put on him a purple Robe, a Reed into his hand, a thorny Crown upon his head, ſaluting him with, *Hayle King of the Jews*, and ſo diſrobed him again? Was not he deprived, when they *ſmote the Shepheard, and the Sheep were ſcattered*? Was not violence offered to his ſacred perſon, when he was buffited, and ſcourged, his hands and his feet pierced, his head pricked with thornes, his ſide goared with a Speare, &c.? Was not the Croſſe more ſhamefull, yea and more painfull, then a Pillory? Was not he ſtript of all he had, when he was left ſtarke naked upon the Croſſe, the Souldiers dividing his garments, and caſting lots upon his veſture? And was he not confin'd to perpetuall cloſe Impriſonment in mans imagination, when his body was layd in a Tombe, and the Tombe ſealed, with a ſtrong guard about it, leaſt he ſhould breake priſon, or his Diſciples ſteale him away? And yet did he not riſe againe, and thereby brought deliverance and victory to us all, ſo as we *are more then Conquerors through him that*

that loved us? Here then we have an excellent patterne indeed. And all this he uttered (and whatſoever elſe he ſpake) with marvailous alacrity.

One ſayd unto Mr. *Burton*, *Chriſt* will not be aſhamed of you at the laſt day. He replyed, He *knew whom he had beleeved, and that Chriſt was able to keep that he had committed to him againſt that day.* One asked him how he did? He ſaid never better, I bleſſe *God*, who hath accounted me worthy thus to ſuffer. The Keeper keeping off the people from preſſing neere the Pillory; he ſayd, Let them come and ſpare not, that they may learne to ſuffer. This ſame Keeper, being weary, and ſitting him down, asked Mr. *Burton*, if he were well, and bad him be of good comfort. To whom he replyed, Are you well? If you be well, I am much more, and full of comfort, I beſſe *God*. Some asked him, if the Pillory were not uneaſie for his neck and ſhoulders. He anſwered: How can *Chriſts* yoake be uneaſie? This is *Chriſts* yoake, and he beares the heavier end of it, and I the lighter; and if mine were too heavie, he would beare that too. O good people, *Chriſt* is a good and ſweet Maſter, and worth the ſuffering for! And if the world did but know his goodneſſe, and had taſted of his ſweetneſſe, all would come in and be his Servants; and did they but know what a bleſſed thing it were to beare his yoak, O who would not beare it? The Keeper going about to eaſe the Pillory by putting a ſtone or a bricke bat between, Mr. *Burton* ſaid, Trouble not your ſelfe, I am at very good eaſe, and feele

no wearineſſe at all. And eſpying a young man at the foot of the Pillory, and perceiving him to looke pale on him; He ſaid, Sonne, Sonne, what is the matter you looke ſo pale? I have aſmuch comfort as my heart can hold, and if I had need of more, I ſhould have it. One asked him a while after, If he would drink ſom *Aqua vitæ*. To whom he replyed, that he needed it not; for I have, ſaid he, (laying his hand upon his breſt) the true *water of life*, which like a well doth ſpring up to *eternall life*. Pawſing a while, he ſaid with a moſt cheerfull and grave countenance, I was never in ſuch a Pulpit before, but little doe ye know (ſpeaking to them that ſtood about him) what fruits *God* is able to produce from this dry tree; They looking ſtedfaſtly upon him, he ſayd, Marke my words, and remember them well, I ſay, Little doe you know what fruits *God* is able to produce from this dry Tree, I ſay, remember it well, for this day will never be forgotten; and through theſe holes, (pointing to the Pillory) *God* can bring light to his Church. The Keeper going about againe to mend the Pillory, he ſaid, Doe not trouble your ſelfe ſo much: But indeed we are the troublers of the world. By and by after, ſome of them offring him a cup of wine; He thanked them, telling them, he had the wine of conſolation within him, and the joyes of *Chriſt* in poſſeſſion, which the world could not take away from him, neither could it give them unto him. Then he looked towards the other Pillory, and making a ſigne with his hand,

hand, cheerfully called to Dr. *Baſtwicke*, and Mr. *Prynne*, asking them how they did. Who anſwered, Very well. A Woman ſayd unto him, Sir, every Chriſtian is not worthy this honour, which the *Lord* hath caſt upon you this day. Alas (ſayd he, if it goe by worthineſſe) who is worthy of the leaſt mercy? But it is his gracious favour and free gift, to account us worthy *in the behalfe of Chriſt to ſuffer any thing for his ſake*? Another Woman ſayd, There are many hundreds which by *Gods* aſſiſtance would willingly ſuffer, for the cauſe you ſuffer for this day. To whom he ſayd, *Chriſt* exalts all of us that are ready to ſuffer afflictions for his Name with meeknes and patience: But *Chriſts* Military Diſcipline in the uſe of his ſpirituall warfare in point of ſuffering, is quite forgotten; and we have in a manner loſt the power of Religion, in not denying our ſelves, and following *Chriſt* aſwell in ſuffering, as in doing. After a while Mr. *Burton* calling to one of his Friends for a Handkerchief, returned it againe, ſaying it is hot, but *Chriſt* bore the burthen in the heat of the day; Let us alwayes labour to approve our ſelves to *God* in all things, and unto *Chriſt*, for therein ſtands our happineſſe, come of it what will in this world. Phil. 1. 29.

A Chriſtian friend ſayd to Mr. *Burton*, The *Lord* ſtrengthen you. To whom he replied, I thank you, and I bleſſe his Name he doth ſtrengthen me. For though I am a poore ſinfull wretch, yet I bleſſe *God* for my innocent Conſcience in any ſuch crime, as is layd againſt me; and were not my cauſe good,

good, and my Conſcience ſound, I could not enjoy ſo much unſpeakable comfort in this my ſuffering as I doe, I bleſſe my *God*.

Miſtris *Burton* ſends commendation to him by a Friend: He returned the like to her, ſaying, Commend my love to my Wife, and tell her, I am heartily cheerfull, and bid her remember what I ſayd to her in the morning, namely, That ſhe ſhould not blemiſh the glory of this day with one teare, or ſo much as one ſigh. She returned anſwer, that ſhe was glad to heare him ſo cheerfull; and that ſhe was more cheerfull of this day, then of her wedding day. This Anſwer exceedingly rejoyced his heart, who thereupon bleſſed *God* for her, and ſayd of her, She is but a young ſouldier of *Chriſts*, but ſhe hath already endured many a ſharpe brunt, but the *Lord* will ſtrengthen her unto the end: And he having on a payre of new Gloves, ſhewed them to his Friends there about him, ſaying, My Wife yeſterday of her own accord brought me theſe Wedding Gloves, for this is my Wedding day.

Many Friends ſpake comfortably to Mr. *Burton*, and he againe ſpake as comfortably to them, ſaying, I bleſſe my *God*, that hath called me forth to ſuffer this day. One ſayd to him, Sir, by this Sermon (your ſuffering) *God* may convert many unto him. He anſwered, *God* is able to doe it indeed. And then he called againe to Dr. *Baſtwicke* and Mr. *Prynne*, asking them how they did. Who anſwered as before. Some ſpeaking to him concerning

cerning that ſuffering of ſhedding his blood: He anſwered, What is my blood to *Chriſts* blood? *Chriſts* blood is a purging blood, but mine is corrupted and polluted with ſinne. One Friend asking another ſtanding neere Mr. *Burton*, if there ſhould be any thing more done unto him; Mr. *Burton* over-hearing him, anſwered; Why ſhould there not be more done? For what *God* will have done, muſt be accompliſhed. One deſiring Mr. *Burton* to be of good cheere: He thus replyed: If you knew my cheere, you would be glad to be partaker with me; for I am not alone, neither hath *God* left me alone in all my ſufferings and cloſe Impriſonment ſince firſt I was apprehended. The Halbertmen ſtanding round about, one of them had an old ruſty Halbert, the Iron whereof was tacked to the ſtaffe with an old crooked nayle; which one obſerving, and ſaying, What an old ruſty Halbert is that? Mr. *Burton* ſayd, This ſeems to me to be one of thoſe Halberts, which accompanied *Judas* when he went to betray and apprehend his Maſter. The people obſerving Mr. *Burtons* cheerefullneſſe and courage in ſuffering; rejoyced, and bleſſed *God* for the ſame. Mr. *Burton* ſayd againe, I am perſwaded that *Chriſt* my Advocate, is now pleading my Cauſe at the Fathers right hand, and will judge my Cauſe, (though none be found here to plead it) and will bring forth my righteouſnes as the light at noone day, and cleare my innocency in due time. A Friend asking Mr. *Burton*, if he would have been without this particular

cular ſuffering. To whom he ſaid, No not for a world. Moreover he ſayd, that his Conſcience in the diſcharge of his Miniſteriall duty and function, in admoniſhing his people to beware of the creeping in of Popery and Superſtition, exhorting them to ſtick cloſe unto *God* and the King in duties of obedience, was that which firſt occaſioned his ſufferings; and ſayd, as for this truth I have preached, I am ready to ſeale it with my blood, for this is my Crown both here and hereafter. I am jealous of *Gods* honour, and the *Lord* keep us that we may doe nothing that may diſhonour him, either in doing or ſuffering; *God* can bring light out of darkneſſe, and glory out of ſhame: And what ſhall I ſay more? I am like a Bottle which is ſo full of liquor, that it cannot runne out freely; So I am ſo full of joy, that I am not able to expreſſe it.

In concluſion, ſome told him of the approach of the Executioner, and prayed *God* to ſtrengthen him. He ſayd, I truſt he will, why ſhould I feare to follow my Maſter *Chriſt*, who ſayd, *I gave my back to the ſmiters, and my cheeks to the nippers, that plucked off my haire, I hid not my face from ſhame and ſpitting, for the Lord God will help me, therefore ſhall I not be confounded; therfore have I ſet my face like a flint, and I know that I ſhall not be aſhamed.*

When the Executioner had cut off one Eare, which he had cut deep and cloſe to the head in an extraordinary cruell manner: Yet this Champion of *Chriſt* never once mooved or ſtirred for it, though

though he had cut the Arterie, ſo as the blood ranne ſtreaming down upon the Scaffold; which divers perſons ſtanding about the Pillory ſeeing, dipped their hankerchers in, as a thing moſt precious, the people giving a mournfull ſhout, and crying for the Chirurgion, whom the crowd and other impediments for a time kept off, ſo that he could not come to ſtoppe the blood: This Patient all the while held up his hands, and ſayd, Be content, it is well, bleſſed be *God*, it cannot be better beſtowed. The other Eare being cut no leſſe deep, and ſtreaming out alſo with the other, in abundant effuſion of blood, he then was after a while freed from the Pillory, and came down, where the Chirurgeon waiting for him, preſently applyed remedy for ſtopping the blood after a large effuſion thereof; yet for all this he fainted not, in the leaſt manner, though through the expenſe of much blood he waxed pale. And one offering him a little wormewood water, he ſayd, it needs not, yet through importunity he onely taſted of it, and no more, ſaying, his Maſter *Chriſt* was not ſo well uſed, for they gave him gall and vineger, but you give me good ſtrong water to refreſh me, bleſſed be *God*. His head being bound up, two Friends led him away to an houſe provided for him in Kings Street, where being ſet down, and bid to ſpeak little, yet he ſayd after a pawſe, This is too hot to hold long: Now leaſt they in the roome, or his Wife ſhould miſtake, and think he ſpake of himſelfe concerning his

paine, he ſayd, I ſpeak not this of my ſelfe: for that which I have ſuffered is nothing to that my Saviour ſuffered for me, who had his hands and feet nayled to the Croſſe: And lying ſtill a while, he took Mr. *Prynnes* ſufferings much to heart, and asked the people how he did, for (ſayd he) his ſufferings have been great. He asked alſo how Dr. *Baſtwicke* did, with much compaſſion and grief, that he (being the firſt that was Executed) could not ſtay to ſee how they two fared after him. His Wife being brought to him, behaved her ſelfe very graciouſly towards him, ſaying, Wellcome Sweet heart, welcome home. He was often heard to repeat theſe words: The *Lord* keep us, that we doe not diſhonour him in any thing.

Before I come to the Execution of Dr. *Baſtwicke*, I ſhall ſet down the true Coppy of the Lord Keepers Warrant for Mr. *Burtons* Degradation & the order of the *Starchamber* for his Execution; there being the like order for the Execution of the other two:

To the VVarden of the Fleet, or his Deputy.

Mr. Warden,

THese are to will and require you to carry Henry Burton *(lately sentenced in the Starre-chamber) to morrow, being Tuesday, by two of the clocke in the afternoon, unto* S^t. Pauls *Church (where the High Commission will then sit) there to abide and attend the pleasure and direction of that Court, and then to return him backe againe unto the Fleet: Wherein as you are to convey him safely, and with a competent strength and guard, So I wish it may be done with the least noyse, or notice before hand.*

So I rest

Your very loving Friend

THO. COVENTRY.

In *Camera Stellata* 29° die *Junii*, A° 13° Car. Re.

THese are to require you, that on Friday the 30 of this instant Iune, you cause Henry Burton *late Clerke, now Prisoner in your custodie to be carryed to Westminster, and to be then set in the Pillory in the Palace-yard there, and to see his Eares then cut off, according to the purport of the Decree of this Court in that behalfe, the 14 of this instant Iune.*

IO. ARTHVR.

Dr. BASTWICKS EXECVTION.

AFTER the Executioner had cut off both Mr. *Burtons* Eares, by force of the former Warrant, he came unto the double Pillory, wheron Dr. *Baſtwicke* and Mr. *Prynne* ſtood. Now the Dr. perceiving by his approach, that he intended to begin with him; he prepared himſelfe with all alacrity, and with a cheerfull ſmiling countenance, took the hangman by the hand, and clapping him on the backe, he ſaid welcome Friend, welcome; then the Executioner intreating him to forgive him, he replyed, I freely forgive thee; come Friend (ſaid he) what thou doſt doe quickly, for I feare not any torture or ſhame, that the malice of man, for witneſſing the truth of my *God* can expoſe me unto; and ſo removing away his haire, he made the one Eare readie for him, who preſently cut it off cloſe to his head; which when he had done, a Chirurgion ſtanding by (who had formerly been an houſhold Servant unto Dr. *Baſtwicke*) haſtened up upon the Pillory; but the Officers who ſtood there to ſee the Sentence executed, laboured to keep him down: yet notwithſtanding ſuch was his faithfull love unto his

his Maſter, that with much ſtriving, up he got, and clapped a ſpunge upon his Eare to ſtoppe the effuſion of blood that might otherwiſe have iſſued forth from the wound: Then the Dr. put aſide his haire from the other Eare; and forthwith he cut off the other Eare, ſo cloſe as that he cut an Arterie, which cauſed the blood to guſh out abundantly, inſomuch that his Doublet (which was of white Damaske) was all beſtreamed with it. All which he indured with an undaunted courage, not ſo much as once ſhrinking, or changing his countenance.

The Cenſure thus Executed with all extremity, Dr. *Baſtwick* was let out of the Pillory, and while he ſtood on the Scaffold, he took the Spunge from his Eare: it being all bloody, he held it in his hand, and waving it over his head, with an audible voyce (lifting up his eyes to heaven) he uttered theſe words, *Bleſſed be my God, who hath counted me worthy, and of his mighty power hath inabled me to ſuffer any thing for his ſake; & as I have now loſt ſome of my blood, ſo am I ready and willing to ſpill every drop that is in my veynes in this Cauſe, for which I now have ſuffered: which is, for maintaining the truth of God, and the honour of my King againſt Popiſh uſurpations. Let God be glorified, And let the King live for ever*; ſo going down from the Scaffold, and ſitting upon the Ladder, two Chirurgions applyed meanes for the ſtanching of the blood, and then two Gentlemen of eminent place and ranke took him by each arme, and led him

him into a Houſe in the Pallace yard; not that he felt any faintneſſe in himſelfe, for his countenance ſhewed the contrary, being ruddie and cheerfull: but becauſe the preſſe of people was very great. They brought him into a Houſe, where his Wife met him, and his two Chirurgions came there and dreſſed and bound up his wounds: ſome few houres after his Keepers convayed him back againe unto the Gatehouſe in *Weſtminſter*, where he had been kept a Priſoner above two years before they brought him forth unto this publike ſuffering.

Laſt of all, the Executioner having done with Mr. *Burton* and Dr. *Baſtwicke*, came unto Mr. *Pryn* to Seare him, and cut off his Eares. Mr. *Prynne* ſpake theſe words to him: *Come Friend, come, burne me, cut me, I feare not. I have learn'd to feare the fire of Hell, and not what man can doe unto me. Come ſeare me, ſeare me, I ſhall beare in my body the marks of the Lord Jeſus:* The bloody Executioner performed the Execution with extraordinary cruelty, heating his Iron very hot, and burning one Cheek twice: After which he cut one of his Eares ſo cloſe, that he cut off a piece of his Cheek too, and cut him deep into the neck, neare jugular veine, to the great danger of his life. And then hacking the other Eare almoſt off, he left it hanging, and went down the Scaffold, till the Surgeon called him up againe, and made him cut it off quite. At which exquiſit torture

he

he never moved with his body, or ſo much as changed his countenance, but ſtill look't up as well as he could towards heaven, with a ſmiling countenance, even to the aſtoniſhment of all the beholders. And uttered (aſſoon as the Executioner had done) this heavenly ſentence: *The more I am beat down, the more am I liſt up.* As ſooneas he came off the Pil'ory, he ſaid, *Now (bleſſed be God) I have conquered & triumphed over the prelates malice; & feel my ſelfe ſo ſtrong, that I could encounter them all together at this very preſent.* After this he was carryed to a Chamber in the Pallace yard and there had his wounds dreſſed. Where reſting, and diſcourſing with thoſe who viſited him, about two houers, ſpace or more, he then viſited Dr. *Baſtwick*, and took his farwell of him. And ſo returning from the Execution in a Boat, to the Tower, made (as I heare) theſe two Verſes by the way, on the two Characters brauded on his Cheeks.

S. L. STIGMATA LAUDIS.

STIGMATA maxillis referens inſignia LAUDIS,
EXULTANS remeo, victima grata Deo.

Which one ſince thus Engliſhed,

S. L. LAUDS SCARS.

Triumphant I returne, my face deſcries,
LAUDS ſcorching SCARS, Gods grateful ſacrifice.

And

And Mr. *Prynne* himſelfe thus:

Bearing LAUDS STAMPS on my Cheeks, I retire Triumphing, Gods ſweet Sacrifice, by Fire.

Mr. *Prynne*, the morning before his Execution, to informe the Lords of the Illegality of his Cenſure, and leave them inexcuſable, dictated this Petition to a Scribe, which he deſired the Lievtenant of the Tower to preſent unto the Lords, which he willingly undertook and performed.

TO

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORDS OF HIS Majesties high Court of STAR-CHAMBER.

The humble Petiton of *William Prynne* close Prisoner in the Tower.

Most humbly sheweth,

THat your Petitioner from the time of his apparance to the Information on which he was Censured, was debarred liberty of pen, inke and paper at his Chamber, to draw up his answer and instructions for his Counsell; and from the day before Easter Terme last, denyed all accesse to them. That his Servant who should sollicit his busines, and help copy and ingresse his Answer, was detained from him for ten weeks and more close Prisoner in a Messengers hands,) and since committed to the Counter (to retard his answer, and deprive him of his service, when he needed it most, and put him to unnecessary expence, all

his friends meane time being ſecluded from him. That in this exigent he did his utmoſt indeavour to procure his Counſell to repaire to him, and draw up his Anſwer, but could not effect either, till your Lordſhips upon his Petition ordered Mr. Holt to come to him, to whom he gave a fee and inſtructions to draw up his Anſwer according to the courſe of the Court, as he and his other Counſell ſhould think fit. Whereupon he undertook to draw his Anſwer, accordingly performed it, and after often conference with one of his laſt aſſigned Counſell, by their mutuall agreement gave order to his Clerke to ingroſſe it, promiſing to ſigne it, that it might be put in the next morning: but being ingroſſed (for reaſons beſt known to himſelfe) he unexpectedly refuſed to ſigne it, contrary to promiſe, though your Petitioner payd for the Copying, and ingroſſing, tendred him a new fee to ſigne it, and his other Counſell profered to ſubſcribe it, if he would: which he refuſing, and the other departing then into the Countrey, and not returning till after the beginning of the laſt Terme, he then procured his hand thereto, and tendred it to Mr. Goad, who denyed to accept it, or his Affidavit, averring all this for truth; and that he had ever been deſirous, and done all that lay in him to procure his Counſels hands to his Anſwer before that time, but could not. That at the hearing, your Petitioner alledged all this, and tendred in open Court this his Anſwer under one of his Councels hands, and another anſwer ſigned with his own hand, both which were then rejected; and without any neglect or default in him (as he humbly conceiveth) or any proofe, witneſſe

confeſſion,

confeſſion, or particular charge objected againſt him by his Majeſtie's Counſell, to which he could then make anſwer, the ſaid Information was taken pro confeſſo, *for want of an Anſwer, when as he then tendred two Anſwers thereto in Court, as ſoon as he could poſſibly procure them, either of which, if received, would (as he humbly beleeveth) have exempted him from that puniſhment and cenſure then impoſed on him, which he is now called out to ſuffer.*

In tender regard whereof he humbly beſeecheth your Lordſhips, to take it into your honourable, juſt, and Chriſtian-ſecond cogitations, whether you will deem it meet or equitable upon ſuch proceedings (of dangerous preſident and example even to the moſt innocent perſons) for the default and treachery of ſome of his Counſell, without any apparent neglect, confeſſion, or proofe of guilt or crime in himſelfe, to expoſe him to thoſe corporall puniſhments of Pillory, ſtigmatizing, loſſe of the remainder of his Eares (*and by conſequence of the moſt excellent ſence of hearing, more deare then life,*) and perpetuall Impriſonment in a remote obſcure Caſtle, *impoſed on him by your Cenſure, and now readie to be executed; it being (as he humbly apprehendeth) contrary to the* great Charter *and late* Petition of Right, *that* any freeman ſhould incurre the loſſe of life or any member (*unleſſe in certain caſes provided by ſome late Statutes, of which this is none*) but by an Indictment and verdict at the Common Law: or that he ſhould loſe his Eares for any falſe News, or Libels againſt any Peere or Prelate, (*though convicted of it*) but only

in caſe of falſe News and Libels againſt the Kings or Queens ſacred perſons: *in which very caſe the* Statutes of 1. and 3. Mariæ, c. 3. and 23. Eliz. c. 2. *(now expired:) which preſcribe this penalty, are ſo moderate, that the delinquent* after cenſure is left to his election, to redeem the loſſe of his Eares with the payment of one, or two hundred pounds at moſt, to the King or Queen within one moneth next after his ſentence pronounced; and then to ſuffer but 3. or 6. moneths Impriſonment only after ſuch payment, or execution; *and is not to incurre this ſentence or puniſhment* without ſufficient proofe by two ſubſtantiall witneſſes at at the leaſt, or his own voluntary confeſſion without force or violence. *Both which fayling in your Petitioners caſe, he humbly hopeth your Lordſhips out of your honourable Juſtice will not inflict a ſeverer Cenſure on him, only for a ſuppoſed Libel againſt a Prelate or two, without any confeſſion, proof, or witneſſe againſt him, than theſe Statutes preſcribe both in the caſes King and Queen, being perſons of farre higher Place and Quality than Biſhops, eſpecially after his former corporall ſufferings, and tedious impriſonment. All which he in all dutie and due ſubmiſſion moſt humbly ſubmits to your Lordſhips charitable, juſt, and honourable conſiderations, without the leaſt thought either of taxing or declining the Juſtice or Cenſure of this honourable Court*

And ſo craving your honourable favours with pardon for his Petition, to which he is neceſſitated, ſhall ever pray for your Lordſhips.

This

This Petition was preſented *June* 30. 1637. (the morning before the Petitioner ſuffered) to the then Lord *Keeper*, in *the Inner-Starchamber*, who hearing it read, acquainted the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* therewith, deſiring him to caſt his eye thereon. To whom he replyed: *That he had no hand at all in the Cenſure, which was the Temporall Lords act, not his, therfore he would have no hand in receiving any Petitions concerning it; the rather, becauſe their Lordſhips knew well, it was his Majeſties expreſſe pleaſure and command it ſhould be Executed.* By which anſwer he would ſeem to ſhift off both the Cenſure and Execution of it from himſelfe, and lay the whole blame, and *odium* of them on the King and Temporall Lords, who did nothing but by the Prelates originall inſtigation, being but the inſtruments, the Executioners of their cruelty and revenge; though I dare ſay, moſt of the Lords that paſſed this ſentence, never once thought that it ſhould have been executed. But the Sentence being once paſt, the Prelates took care to make it irrevocable. The Execution of this Sentence upon Dr. *Baſtwicke*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Prynne* was diſpatched before the Decree was entred, or their Attorneys could get any ſight thereof to except againſt it: And as if the Sentence at the hearing had not been ſufficient, the Court upon Mr. Attorneys meere motion, made this ſupplimentall order by way of addition to it (a thing altogether extrajudicial and extravagant, warranted by no

no forn er preſident) on purpoſe to debarre them of the liberty of pen, inke, paper, and Books, not prohibited them by the Decree it ſelfe.

In Camera Stellata coram Concilio

ibidem 29no die Junii, Anno decimo tertio *Caroli* Regis.

IT is this day Ordered by this Honourable Court, upon the motion of Sir John Banks *Knight, his Majeſties Attourney Generall, that* Henry Burton, John Baſtwicke, *and* William Prynne, *late defendants at his ſuit, Who by the Decree of this Court, dated the foureteenth of* June *laſt, are to ſuffer perpetuall Impriſonment,* (viz.) *the ſaid* Baſtwicke *in the Caſtle of* Lanceſton, *in the County of* Cornwall; Prynne *in the* (*Goale of the) *Caſtle of* Carnaruan; *and* Burton *in the Caſtle of* Lancaſter: *ſhall not be admitted at any time, during their ſaid Impriſonment, to have any uſe of Pen, Inke, or Paper, nor of any other Books, but the Bible, and the Book of Common Prayer, and ſuch other Books of devotion, as the ſeverall Keepers of the ſaid Caſtles, where they are to be Impriſoned, will be anſwerable for, that they are conſonant to the Doctrine of the Church of* England.

* This was foiſted into the Decree, and no part of the Sentence.

JO. ARTHUR *Dep.*

Mr.

Mr. *Prynne* after his Execution, being a cloſe Priſoner, and wanting his Servant to attend him during his ſores, (detained ſtill cloſe Priſoner in the Meſſengers hands, by the Archbiſhops direction;) deſired the Leivtenant of the Tower to move the Archbiſhop, either to releaſe or bayle his Servant upon ſufficient ſureties, to attend him whiles his wounds were healing; but he, out of his Arch charity, utterly rejected this motion, contrary not only to Law, but common humanity, ſaying; *that he intended to proceed againſt his Servant in the High-Commiſſion, and he could not call a High Commiſſion Court in the vacation to pleaſure Mr. Fryn*; though he could ſummon 2 Commiſſion Courts in Vacation to Suſpend Mr. *Burton*, and might nay, ought to have bayled him by Law, without calling a Court. And in truth he proved as good as his word, for cauſing his Servant to be oft times examined by the then Attorny Generall and Solicitor, who by threats and great promiſes would have induced him, like another *Judas*, falſly to accuſe and betray his Maſter, and he refuſing to doe it; he Articles againſt him in the High Commiſſion, and for his refuſall to take an *Ex Officio* Oath before ſight of his Articles, he by a ſpeciall letter procured by him under his Majeſties ſignet, took the Articles againſt him *pro confeſſo*, fined him 1000 *l.* to the King, taxed him to pay good round * coſts of ſuit; committed him cloſe Priſoner to the Counter, Excommunicated him, after that banded

* Though there was no Proſecutor aſſigned.

ded him up and down from Priſon to Priſon, removing him from the Meſſengers to the Counter; from thence to the Gate-houſe; from it to the White Lyon; from thence to Newgate; from it back againe to the White Lyon; making likewiſe an Order to ſend him cloſe Priſoner to *Wiſbich* Caſtle; ordering his Father to pay the Meſſengers fees, amounting to above 22 *l.* under pain of Impriſonment, and proteſting that he ſhould never be releaſed while he lived, unles he would take his Oath to anſwer the Articles, and confeſſe ſuch things as he ſhould demand of him, touching his Maſters ſecrets. Yea ſo farre did his malice extend to all, who had any relation to Mr. *Prynne*, that he ſent one of his ſervants to one of his own kindred (Mr. *John Badger*, of the Inner Temple) and forwarned him any more to come to *Lambeth*, or ſee his face hereafter, becauſe he uſed to viſit Mr. *Pryn* at the Tower; and refuſed ſo much as to ſee or ſpeak with this his kinſman even ſince his own commitment to the Tower, when he went to viſit him there, becauſe he viſited Mr. *Prynne*, whom he now ſucceeds in the Tower, ſitting in the very ſame ſeat in the Chappell there, where Mr. *Prynne* was placed by his meanes.

The

The Manner of conveighing Dr. *Baſtwick*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Mr. *Burton*, to their ſeverall Priſons, and places of *Exile*, together with the true Copies of the *Lords* Orders, Warrants, and Letters, by force of which they were removed, *exiled*, and *cloſe Impriſoned*.

YOU have already heard a true Narration both of the Sentences, and corporall *Executions* of Doctor *Baſtwick*, *Mr. Burton*, and *Mr. Prynne*; you ſhall next receive a briefe Relation of the manner of their ſeverall removalls, to their remote Priſons, and places of *Exile*, and a true Copy of the Orders, Warrants, and Letters from the *Lords*, by force whereof they were tranſlated, *impriſoned* and *exiled*.

On the 26th. day of *July*, 1637. Dr. *Baſtwick* before his wounds were perfectly cured, was by Mr. *Hopkins* cheife Warden of the *Fleete*, and his ſubſtitutes, conveyed from the *Gate-Houſe* towards the Caſtle of *Lanceſton*; and ſo ſtrictly looked unto, that his Wife, who followed him in a Coach, could not for ſome dayes ſpace bee

admitted, so much as to speake with him, or to lodge in the same Inne where he lodged; though the Conducters had no *Order* from the *Lords* thus to separate those against the Lawes of *God* and the Realme whom *God* hath so neerely joyned together. On the next day (to wit the 27. of the same moneth) Mr. *Prynne* before his sores were healed, was removed from the *Tower* to the *Fleete* by three of the *Wardens* servants about 7. of the clock in the morning, and within one hower after conducted by them, and the *under-Warden Mr. Ingram* towards *Carnarvan* Castle; the streets and wayes from the *Fleete* till beyond *High gate* were full of people, to see and take their farewell of him, whom they though never to behold againe; some of his friends accompanyed him to *Saint Albans*, where hee lay the first night. The day following, *Mr. Burton* not yet cured of his wounds, by the said *under-Warden*, and three of his Servants, was conveyed towards *Lancaster* Castle, multitudes of people appearing in the streets and wayes to take their *ultimum vale* of him, as they imagined; his Wife, Daughter, and other of his Friends followed him to *Lancaster*, and were scarce permitted to speak with him on the way.

The *Orders* and *Warrants* by force of which they were thus removed, I shall here subjoyne.

Julij 15. 1637. *Anno* 13. *Caroli Regis.*

The Warrant or Order of the High Court of *Starchamber*; for carrying *Mr. Burton Dr. Bastwick*, and *Mr. Prynne* to the ſeverall Priſons within named.

MR. Warden of the Fleete, *theſe are to require you, that you receive from the* Leivetenant *of* the Tower, *the body of* William Prynne Gentleman, *and that you cauſe him to be carryed downe to the* * (Goale *of the*) Caſtle of Carnarvan, and *there deliver him over to bee impriſoned in the ſaid* Goale, *in ſuch ſort as by the* Decree *of this Court is directed. And that you alſo receive from the Keepers of the* Priſon *of the* Gate-Houſe *at Weſtminſter, the Body of* John Baſtwicke, *Doctor in Phyſick; and in like ſort carry him downe to the* Caſtle *of* Launceſton *in the County of* Cornewall, *to be there impriſoned according to the purport of the ſaid* Decree, *and that you alſo cauſe* Henry Burton *now Priſoner in your Cuſtody, to be carryed downe to the* Caſtle *of* Lancaſter, *there to be impriſoned according to the Purport of the aforeſaid* Decree.

* No part of the ſentence.

JO. ARTHVR. M. GOAD.

To this Order of the *Starre-chamber*, the *Lords* super-added a Warrant of assistance, directed to all *Officers* to ayde the *Warden* of the *Fleets* substitutes in conducting these three Prisoners to their severall Prisons, as if they were dangerus persons, apt to make an escape, whereas the least child might have carried them to their designed Goales without danger; the Contents of which Warrant were as followeth.

WHereas *the* Warden of the Fleete *is by Order of the* Star-chamber *of the* 15th. *of this present* July *required, to cause* Henry Burton, *now Prisoner in his custody to be carryed downe to the Castle of* Lancaster, *to be there Imprisoned in such sort, as by the* Decree *in* Starchamber is directed; *these shall be therefore in his Majesties Name straigtly to charge and command you, and every of you, to be ayding and assisting unto the said Warden of the* Fleet *his Deputy, or such Person or Persons as hee shall imploy for this Service, as well in the safe conveying of the said* Burton *from place to place, untill he come to the said Goale, as also in appointing a sufficient Guard at night, and other times needfull, and in affording your best advise, helpe and furtherance upon all Occasions, where the same shall be required, or necessary, for the better Execution of this service; whereof you may not faile, as you will answer the Contrary at your uttermost* Perills. *Dated at* White-Hall *the* 20th. *of* July, 1637.

THO. COVENTRY, LINDSEY, ARUNDEL & SURREY,
JOHN NORT: E. NEVVBVRGH.

Thomas

Thomas Jermin.

TO all Majors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Bayliffs, Constables Headburroughes, and all other his Maiesties Officers, and loving Subiects whatsoever?

The like Warrant of Assistance was delivered to the Conducters of *Dr. Bastwicke*, and *Mr. Prynne.*

Now as if the Decree, and Orders fore-specified were not strict enough, the *Arch-Bishop* out of his super-abundant *Grace*, procured the *Lord Newburgh* Chancellour of the *Dutchy* of *Lancaster*, to write a Letter to *Mr. Thomas Covell* the Jaylor of *Lancaster* Castle, for the more strict imprisonment of *Mr. Burton*, when hee should there arive, of which this is a true Coppy taken out of the *Originall Letter, under* the said *Lords* hand and Seale.

After my hearty Commendations.

YOU will very shortly receive a Prisoner into the Castle of Lancaster *one* Mr. Burton, *committed thither by the Sentence of the* Starre-chamber, *and I am by* direction from the Lords of the Councell, to give you notice, and charge, that you take especiall care, to see that the said Sentence and Decree bee * strictly and precisely observed in all points, touching his Imprisonment, for there will be a very strict Account, taken of you for it; and so this being for no other cause, I rest.

* O the cruelty of Lordly Prelates, who have all strictnesse and preciseneſse in Religion, but not in oppression.

Dutchy House 3. July 2637. *Your loving Friend,*

L. 3. E. New-burgh.

O

O the unsatiable malice, and under-hand Practises of bloud-thirsty mercilesse *Prelates!* O that any Honourable *Lords* should so farre dishonour themselves, and the abuse their Authority, thus to become their vassals, and the unjust Executioners of their most malicious designes, to the oppression of meere Innocent and well-deserving men!

There were likewise three severall Warrants, directed to the Keepers of those three Castles, under the then Lord *Keepers* hand; the tenor whereof followeth.

THese are to require you: That you receive from the Warden of the Fleete, or his Servants, the Body of Henry Burton (who by the Decree of the most Honourable Court of Star-chamber, dated the 14th. of June last, at the suite of his Majesties Attourney Generall, is to suffer perpetuall Imprisonment in the Castle of Lancaster, and none to have Accesse unto him there, but by speciall Licence of his Majestie, or the Lords of his Highnesse Privie Councell, and that you keepe him in the said Castle, according to the direction of the said Decree, and that you take care that he be not admitted at any time, during his said Imprisonment, to have any use of Pen, Inck or Paper, nor of any other Bookes but the Bible, and the Booke of Common Prayer, and such other Bookes of divotion, as you will be answerable for, that they are consonant to the Doctrine of the Church of England.

THO. COVENTRY. TO

To the Keeper of the Castle of Lancaster for the time being.

THE like Warrants were directed to the Keepers, and Goalers of *Lancestor*, and *Carnarvan* Castles, concerning Dr. *Bastwicks*, and Mr. *Prynnes* strict imprisonment there.

Lord! what an extremity of Malice, and overflowing cruelty, was exercised towards these poore Prisoners after all their miseries and corporall sufferings, thus to make Warrant upon warrant; Order upon Order, for their strict close Imprisonment! Never were any Arch-Traytors so narrowly looked too by the States, as these innoxious Persons were by the *Prelates* instigation. Dr. *Bastwicke* ariving at *Lancestor* the first of *August*; was by force of this Warrant the next day, shut up close Prisoner in the Castle there, part whereof not long before had fallen downe through age, and murthered the Keeper of it, and his Wife in their bed, a little child lying betweene them both, escaping without harme(*)his Chamber there was so ruinous, that every small blast of wind threatned to shatter it down upon his head, yet there, or no where must he be lodged. Mr. *Prynne* on Saterday the 5th. of *August* comming to *Carnarvan*, was on *Munday* following delivered over to the under-Sheriffe, there to be kept close Prisoner in the

(*) Iudge *Finch* being informed hereof, said by way of scoffe, *That the Dr. by his Faith, and Tarayrs would hold it up from falling*

Goale

Goale of that Castle: a nasty doghole, having no other covering but the Heavens, no floore, but two or three narrow Arches, with a kind of vault under them, full of dung and excrements; a place overgrowne with weedes on the side walls, without any Chimney, chamber, or window; having onely three or foure darke little holes, in the sides betweene a double wall, where the Felons in the night lye upon beds of straw, being unable to continue in it in the day time for Nastinesse. The unfitnesse of this place, unmeet to lodge a Dog in, much more a Christian; and the want of a place to shut up the felons, or lodge *Mr. Prynne* within that ruinous Castle, caused the Sheriffe to close imprison him in the *Gealers* house within the *Towne*, till further directions received from the *Lords*, to whom the inconvenience of the *Goale* was certified. *Mr. Burton* ariving at *Lancaster* the 7th. of the same *August*, was delivered the same day to the Keeper of the Castle there; and shut up close Prisoner in the common *Goale*, in an upper Chamber without bed or furniture, and so ill flored, that his feete and legges might easily slip through at every step if hee looked not the better to it. Soone after his comming thither there were a company of *witches* purposely imprisoned in the Chamber under him; and a ranke Papist set to bring him his meat, and to be his chamber-fellow; neither his Wife, Daughter, nor Maide being once permitted to come neere him, no not when hee was ill,

ill, and like to die of the wind Collicke. Whiles *Mr. Burton*, *Mr.* Prynne, and Doctor *Baſtwick* were on their way to theſe their deſigned remote Priſons, the *Arch-Biſhop* procures the *King*, and *Lords* ſitting in Counſell at *Oatlands*, to make a new Warrant for their more ſtrict Imprisonment in thoſe places; one of which warrants (being all one but in the names of the Parties and Caſtles) I ſhall here preſent you with, to ſhew the unſatiableneſſe of the *Arch-Biſhops* endles malice.

At the Court at Oatelands the 30th. of July, 1637.

Preſent the Kings moſt excellent Majeſty

Lord Arch-Biſhop of Cant.

Lord Keeper.
Lord Treaſurer.
Lord D. of Lenox.
Lord Mar. Hammilton
Ea. Marſhall.
Ea. of Dorſet.
Earle of Holland.
Lo. V. Wimbleton
Lord Cottington.
Mr. Controler.
Mr. V. Chamberlane.
Mr. Secre. Cooke.
Mr. Sec. Windebank.

WHereas Henry Burton, *is by the late Sentence of the High Court of* Starre-Chamber *to be committed to the Goale, in the Caſtle of* Lancaſter, *and there to be kept cloſe* Priſoner.

Their Lordships conceiving that the said Burton *cannot be in a common Goale, kept so close a Prisoner as by the said sentence is intended; upon consideration thereof; doe hereby will and require the Constable, or other chiefe Officers of the said Castle of* Lancaster, *and his Deputy or either of them, to suffer the Sheriffe of the County of* Lancaster, *or the Keeper of the said Goale, under him the same Sheriffe for the time being, still to use such Roome, or Chamber without the same Goald, and within the said Castle, as shall be most fit and convenient, for the said Sheriffe for the time being, or his Goaler, to keepe the said* Burton *a close Prisoner there; and that none of the other Prisoners, or* any other Person or Persons be permitted to come into the said Castle to conferre, or any way to converse with the said* Burton, *such onely excepted as are to take care of his safety, or to attend the said* Burton *to give him daily sustenance and reliefe. And the said* Burton *is not to be permitted to have the use of any Pen, Inck, or Paper, or of any Booke or Bookes save onely the Bible, the* Booke of Common Prayer, *and such other Canonicall books, as he shall desire for his comfort and devotion, and which are consonant to the Religion professed in the Church of England. In regard of which close Imprisonment his Majestie will give allowance for his diet, for all which this Order shall bee a sufficient Warrant to the said Counstable, or other chiefe Officer of the said Castle of* Lancaster, *and to his Deputy, and the Goaler aforesaid.*

*How strictly doe the Wolves imprison the poore Lambs?

Exam: WILL. BECHER. In

In this Order there ſeemes one charitable clauſe in favour of the Priſoners, *that in regard of their cloſe impriſonment, his Majeſty will give allowance for their dyet.* But this Charity was only inſerted to blinde the people, and prejudice them. For the *Prelates* being his Majeſties Purſe-bearers, and having his Treaſury Keyes at their devotion, there was not ſo much as one penny given or allowd to any for their diet; and had not their Friends and keepers beene more charitable than the *Prelates*, they might have ſtarved many an hundred times, notwithſtanding this pretended indefinite allowance.

Some few weeks after, the omnipotent malicious *Arch-Prelate*, to adde double affliction to the afflicted, and to deprive them of all poſſibility of comfort or relieſe from their wives, children, kindred, or friends, procures an order for their *Exiles* and cloſe Impriſonment, in the Caſtles of *Garnſey*, *Jerſey*, and *Silly*; a true Coppy whereof you may here behold.

At the Court at Oatlands the 27. of Auguſt, 1637.

Preſent the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſty.

Lord Arch-Biſhop of Cant.	*Ea. of* Dorſet.
Lord Keeper.	*Ea. of Holland*
Lord Treaſ.	*Lo. V. Wimbledon*
Lord Duke of Lenox	*Mr. Controler*
Lo. Marq. Hamilton.	*Mr. Sec. Coke*
Ea. Marſhall	*Mr. Sec. Windebanck.*

VVHereas by Sentence and Decree of the Court of Starre-Chamber, *John Bastwicke*, *Henry Burton*, and *VVilliam Prynne*, were committed lately to remaine close Prisoners, The said *John Bastwicke* in the Castle of *Lancester*, and *Henry Burton* in the Castle of *Lancaster*, and *VVilliam Prynne* in the Goale or Castle of *Carnarvan*: His Majestie having beene since * informed, how inconvenient the said Castles are for the custody and guard of those Prisoners, did this day order with the * advise of the Boord, That the said *Bastwicke* should be removed to the Castle or Fort of the Isles of *Sillies*; *Burton* to the Castle of the Isle of *Guernsey*, and *Prynne* to one of the two Castles of the Isle of *Jersey* (which by the Governour of the same shall be thought fittest) to be there safely kept close Prisoners in their chambers; and that to prevent the danger of spreading their Schismaticall and sedicious opinions [which was the cause wherefore the Court of Star-chamber did imprison them in these remote places] none be admitted to have conference with them, or to have accesse unto them, but onely such as being faithfull and discreete persons shall be appointed by the Governour or Captaines of those Castles, or their Deputies for attendance upon them, to give them

* *By whom but the Prelate?*

* *It is, itty any Prelate should set at that Boord to give such ill advise, to his Majestie and his Nobles.*

them their dayly ſuſtenance, and neceſſaries, nor they the ſaid Priſoners to be allowed the uſe of any Pen, Paper, or Inke, nor any Bookes, but onely of the holy Bible, the Booke of Common-Prayer; and ſuch Bookes which they ſhall deſire for the practiſe and exerciſe of private devotion onely. The ſame to be alſo ſuch, as the ſaid Governours, Captaines, or their Deputies know to be conſonant to the Doctrine and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed in the Church of England, and for which they will be anſwerable to his Majeſty, that the ſame are ſuch, and that no Letters or Writings be permitted to be brought unto the ſaid Priſoners, nor from them to be ſent to any perſon, or place whatſoever: and if there ſhall be any ſuch brought, that the ſame be opened by the ſaid Governours, Captaines, or their Deputies, and if they containe any thing materiall or conſiderable, that the ſame be ſent to one of his Majeſties principall Secretaries. And moreover that the Wives of the ſaid *Baſtiche* & *Burton* [who as his Majeſtie hath beene informed] have made ſome attemps, to procure acceſſe unto their ſaid Husbands, and to convey Letters unto them, and as is conceived will be evill inſtruments to diſperſe and ſcatter abroad thoſe dangerous opinions and deſignes which their ſaid husbands ſhall deſire to ſpread, contrary to the true intent of the Sentence and Decree of the ſaid Court; therefore they ſhall not be permitted to * Land, nor abyde in any of the ſayd Iſlands; and if contrary hereunto it ſhould happen through the in-

* *Horrid, and more than barbarous cruelty thus to ſeparate Man & Wife, & not ſo much as to permit them to land in the ſame Iſlands where their husbands were cloſe impriſoned! How little did the Prelates here regard this Precept of Chriſt, and their owne common Prayer Booke, ratified by Statute, Thoſe whom God hath joyned together (in Matrimo-) let NO MAN put aſunder, Matth. 19. 6.*

advertency of officers or otherwise; that they, or either of them should Land in either of the said Islands, That the same being discerned and made knowne to the respective Governors or Captaines of the same, or unto the Deputies of the said Governors and Captaines respectively, they or either of them so offending, should be forthwith committed to prison, there to be detained untill further order from the Boord. And it is further ordered, that those persons, who shall be employed, for removing the said persons as aforesaid, either by Sea or Land, doe carry or convey them with all privacy and secresy, to prevent all concourse of people in their passage, and that they suffer no person whatsoever but themselves onely, who have the care and charge of conveying them, to speake with them in their passage.

Exam. Dudly Charleton.

Theſe Warrants were incloſed, and ſent with particular Letters to the Governours of *Garneſey*, *Ierſey*, and *Silly*, from the Lords, enjoying moſt ſtrict execution of theſe Orders. I ſhall trouble you onely with the recitall of one of theſe Letters, the other two according with it in ſubſtance.

*After our hearty commendations, we ſend you incloſed an Order of this Board, containing his * Majeſties pleaſure and command for the removing of* Henry Burton *from the Caſtle of* Lancaſte *unto the* Caſtle *of the* Iſle *of* Guerneſey, *there to be kept Priſoner in ſuch ſort, as by the ſaid Order, you will ſee more particularly directed. Which Iſle and Caſtle being under your government and charge; VVe doe hereby pray and require your Lordſhip to take Eſpeciall care your ſelfe, and alſo to give Order to your Deputy, and ſuch other of his Majeſties Officers there, whom it may concerne, that the ſaid Order be duly and punctually put in execution, when the ſaid* Burton *by warrant from this Boord ſhall be brought thith r: and ſo not doubting of your forwardneſſe and good affections to this ſervice, wherein his * Majeſties Governement, and the Peace and quiet of the Church and*

* *The King alone muſt beare all the blame of the Prelates ill actions.*

* *See how this wretched Archprelate ingageth his Majeſtie, and the State in his owne particular quarrell and wrongs: and how cunningly he vents his malice, and ſets on his deſignes.*

and People is so much concerned, wee bid your Lordship very heartily farewell.

From the Court at *Oatlands* the 27th. of *August.* 1637.

Your Lordships Loving Friends,

Tho. Coventry.
Hammelton.
Arundle and Surrey.
Holland.
I. Coke. Fran. VVindebanke.

And

And here I pray obſerve, firſt the Prelates injuſtice, in baniſhing theſe Priſoners contrary to their owne Decree in Star-chamber, without either examining them, or ſhewing cauſe why they did it. 2. Their cruelty in ſhutting them up cloſe Priſoners in forreigne *Iſlands*, and denying the acceſſe of their wives, kinred, and friends unto them in perſon, or by Letter, and in prohibiting them the uſe of Pen, Inke, and Paper, to write for neceſſaries; and yet giving no order for any proviſion or allowing of diet to preſerve their lives; ſo that it appeares their cleare intent was, to ſtarve them in priſon, in caſe they ſhould eſcape the dangerous Winter Seas, which in probability might drowne them in the paſſage. 3. Their Machiavilian policy; for though their hands appeare in the warrant, and Councell-Table-Order, yet they cauſe the temporall Lords onely to ſubſcribe the Letter for the execution of it, to caſt all the *odium* upon them.

This Order thus poaſted to the Governors of theſe Iſles; preſently after they procure another Order directed to the Sherieffes for their tranſportation to theſe Iſlands, in the words enſuing.

*After our hearty commendations: VVhereas his * Majesties with the advice of this* Boord *hath given order, that* Henry Burton *who by Sentence and Decree of the Court of Star-Chamber, was lately committed to remaine close Prisoner in the* Castle *of* Lancaster *shall be removed to the Castle of the Isle of* Guernesey *there to be kept Prisoner according to an Order of the Boord sent to his Majesties Governour of the said Isle, we are by his * Majesties speciall command to require and charge you forthwith to take effectuall Order, that the said* Henry Burton *be in all deligence safely inbarqued in some convenient Port or Place in that County nearest to the Castle where now he is prisoner and thence with the first oportunity of winde transported at his Majesties charge (by such faithfull and trusty Officers, as you will Answer for) into his Majesties Isle of* Guernesey, *and there safely delivered into the charge and custody of the Governour or Lievetenant Governor of the said Isle to be kept close Prisoner in the Castle there, according to the said Order, and to this purpose wee have herein sent you a VVarrant to the Keeper of the Castle of* Lancaster *to deliver the said* Burton *to you, or such as you shall appoint to receive him into custody, and doe thereby authorise and require you to presse and take up such Ship or Barque as you shall finde fit for the said* Henry Burtons *transportation, paying such price for the same as shall be reasonable. The * charge of whose remove & transportation shall be allowed unto you upon your accoumpt: You are to see that the vessell that you take up or presse for this purpose be ready fitted to put to sea before you take the said* Burton *out of the Prison, where new*

* All the Prelates actions must be fathered on his Majesty.

* How doe the Prelates abuse his Majesty to lay the blame of their illegall odious actions upon him.

* The King must be at the sole charge to execute the Prelates Malice on his loyall subjects

now he remaines, and to take* effectuall care and order, that the Persons whom you imploy for removing of the said Burton as aforesaid, either by Sea or Land, doe carry and convey him with all privacie and secretly, and without making any unnecessary stop or stay, to prevent all concourse of people in his passage, and that they permit * no person whatsoever, but themselves onely who have the care and charge of conveying him, to speake with him in his passage; & we doe heare will and command all Majors, Vice-admiralls, Justices of Peace, Customers, Controulers, Searchers, Marshals of the Admiralty, Constables and other his Majesties officers and subjects to be aiding and assisting unto you in the due execution of this our Warrant, and this shall be a sufficient warrant, both for you and them on this behalfe, and so Wee bid you farewell.

* O how carefull are the Prelates of these parmulitated Confessioners.

* Never was any Archtraytors or Robbers so narrowly watched in their passage, as these your innocent Prisoners.

From the Court at *Hampton* Court.
the 17. of *September* 1617.
Your loving Friends,

William Cant.
Manchester.
Thomas Coventry.
Hammilton.
Arundell and Surry.
Northumberland.
Dorcet.
Fra. Cottington.
H. Vayne.
I. Coke, Fran. Windebanke.

Observe I pray how in the most of these Warrants, the Prelates hands are first, and yet *Canterbury* in his Oration in Star-chamber, and his Epistles Dedicatory prefixed to his Answer to *Fisher*, like a notorious hypocrite, *desires God to forgive them*, and forbeares to censure them, as if he bore no malice towards them, when as all their troubles streamed principally frō his enmity. Besides this, there was another Warrant of the same date, directed to the severall Keepers of all these Castles, to deliver these three Prisoners over to the high Sherieses of the Counties, who were to transport them to the three Islands, the tenor whereof ensueth.

To the Keeper of the Castle of *Lancaster*, for the time being

IT *is his Majesties pleasure, that you forthwith de-deliver the person of* Henry Burton *formerly by sentence of the Court of Star chamber, ordered to be kept close Prisoner in the Castle of Lancaster, unto the High Sheriffe of the County, of* Lancaster, *or to such Person as he shall appoint, to receive and take the said* Burton *into Custody, for with this shall be your*

Warrant

warrant, Dated at the Court at Hampton Court the 17th. of September 1637.

William Cant.
Tho. Coventry.
Guil. London.
Manchester.
Hammilton.
Arundell and Surry.
Northumberland.
Dorset.
Fran. Cottington.
Henry Vane.
I. Cooke.
Fran. Windebanke.

To the Keeper or Vnder-keeper of the ſaid Caſtle of Lancaſter.

VPon receipt of theſe Orders and warrants, the high Shriefe of *Corn wall* cauſe Doctor *Baſtwicke* to be ſuddenly removed, without any warning, from *Lanceſton* to *Plimouth* upon the 10. day of *October*, 1637. where being imbarked in a ſmall veſſell (into which his wife was not permitted to enter, to take her farwell of him) he landed at the Iſlands of *Syllyes* the 16th. of the ſame *October*, where many thouſands of *Robin Redbreſts* (none of which birds were ever ſeene in thoſe Iſlands before or ſince) newly arived at the Caſtle there the evening before, welcommed him with their melody, and wit hin one day or two after tooke their flight from th ence, no man knowes whither. The Doctor upon his arrivall was immediatly delivered over to Capraine *Baſſets* offices, and by them ſhut up cloſe Priſoner in the Caſtle there under three or foure lockes and doores, no man being permitted to ſee or ſpeake with him. Maſter *Burton* on the firſt of *October* in the ſame yeare, was by the high Shrieffe of *Lancaſters* ſubſtitutes very early in the morning with all privaſie removed from *Lancaſter* Caſtle, (his wife and children being not permitted to ſpeake with him, but onely to behold him a farre of) unto *Leurepoole*, and there ſhipped for *Guernſey*, were after a long and dangerous paſſage through the *Iriſh* ſeas, he arrived ſafely at *Caſtle Cornet* in

Guernſey,

Guernſey the 15th. of *December* following, and was ſhut up cloſe priſoner in a low narrow chamber, having a Palliſado of boords ſet upe before the window, that ſo none might come neare to ſee or ſpeake with him; out of which chamber, hee was not permitted to ſtirre for a long time, till he was like to be ſmothered for want of ayre, and removed by degrees to a more convenient lodging. Mr. *Prynne* being in a County where there was no ſhipping, but ſuch as come in accidentally with ſa't from other parts, was on the tenth of *October* inbarqued cloſe by *Carnarvan* Caſtle in a Barke of *Leurepoole* called the *Stremme*, which had beene ſhipwreckt and bruiſed but the voyage before, and was ſince utterly caſt away: the Owner, Maſter, and moſt of the Marriners of this rotten leaking Veſſell were Papiſts, and loath to undertake ſuch a dangerous Winter Voyage in ſo ill a Veſſell; but being preſſed by the high Sheriefe of *Carnarvan* for his good ſervice, they durſt not but obey. The weather being ſtormy, the ſeas rough, and the winds contrary, they were in great danger of Shipwrecke, eſpecially neare S. *Davids* head among the Biſhop and his Clearkes, (rockes ſo called) where thouſands of Ships and Barkes have periſhed. The Barke being formerly bruiſed was ſo full of leakes, that all the hold was full of water, ſo as all Mr. *Prynnes* bedding, Linning, and neceſſaries were ſpoiled with the inundation, and the Marriners enforced to Plumpe night and day to ſave the veſſell from drowning. And neare *Milford Haven*, the ſtormes was ſo violent

violent and the ground so foule, that they were driven out to sea, with the losse of their best Anchor, and a new Cable never wet before, which was cut a sunder. To stoppe these leakes, provide a new Anchor, and a Pilot to conduct them in the Southren Seas where all of them were strangers, they were enforced to put in both at *Famouth*, and *Plimouth*, so as they arrived not at *Iersey* till the fifteenth of *January* following, and on the 17th. day Mr. *Prynne* was conveyed from S. *Aubins* where he landed, to *Mount-Orgueil* Castle at the other end of the Island, where he was shut up close Prisoner according to the fore-mentioned *Orders* of the Lords, and somewhat more courteously used, then his fellow Prisoners, so farre forth as would stand with the Lords Warrants, till his release by Parliament strict thence; Of which hereafter.

The

The Hiſtory of the proceedings at the Councell Table, and in the High Commiſſion at *Yorke* againſt thoſe of *Coventry* and *Cheſter*, who viſited Mr. *Prynne* in his journey to *Carnarvan*, with the orders and manner of defacing and burning his *Pictures* at *Cheſter*.

WHilſt Mr. *Prynne* was thus cloſe priſoner at *Carnarvan*, and in his winter voyage towards *Ferſy*, the Prelates of *Canterbury*, *Yorke* and *Cheſter*, not content to wracke the extremitie of their malice upon his perſon, fell pell mell like ſo many Furies upon his *Friends* and *portrayture*, in ſuch a high ſtraine of injuſtice, as I preſume no age can parallell; of which I ſhall give you a ſhort taſt.

Mr. *Prynne* in his paſſage from *London* to *Carnarvan* reſted at the City of *Coventry* on the Lords day, where hee went twice to Church; his conducters having no order to reſtraine him from Church, nor to prohibit any of his friends to reſort to him, ſome of his acquaintance of that City came and viſited him at his Chamber in the

Inne, out of which hee ſtirred not but onely to Church. *Canterbury* being informed hereof, ſends a meſſenger thither in poſt haſt for the Maior (whoſe wife had viſited Mr. *Prynne*, not himſelfe) and ſome ſix more of the Citie to bring them up to the Councell Table, and gives order to the Kings Atturney Generall to bring a *Quo warranto* againſt the towne to ſeiſe their liberties. They being thus brought up, attended the Lords aboue a fortnight; and petitioning to bee diſcharged, the Lords referred them to the Archbiſhop, who cauſed them to be ſent for: hee turnes them over (being attended by them) to Mr. Atturney, who examines them concerning their viſiting of Mr. *Prynne*, at his Inne in *Coventry*, and his going to Church there; and at laſt finding nothing againſt them (the moſt of them having not ſo much as ſpoken to him in their lives) they were with a checke, and the expence of two or three hundred pounds *viis & modis*, diſmiſſed. Mr. *Prynne* going forwards in his journey towards *Cheſter*, within two miles thereof, one *Calvin Brewen* of that City caſually overtaking his conducters, and entring into parly with them as they rode together, asked who Mr. *Prynne* was; they informing him, demanded of him, which was the beſt Inne in *Cheſter* where they might bee beſt accommodated with lodging? he acquainting them, they reſolved to lodge at the Inne nominated: whereupon hee demanded of them, whether hee might viſit Mr. *Prynne* at his Inne without offence? they replyed yea, they having no warrant to debarre any of his

his friends from him. Whereupon when Mr. *Prynne* came to his Inne, Mr. *Brewen* and some other of Mr. *Prynnes* acquaintance of *Chester* came to see him at his Inne, and the next day went with him into the Citie, to helpe him buy some bedding and furniture for his Chamber at *Carnarvan*, where no such commodities could bee gotten; and when hee departed out of *Chester*, none of his conductors knowing the way, some three or foure of his friends conducted them over the washes which are dangerous; and bringing them onwards in their way about foure or five miles, bestowed a cup of wine and some cold meat upon his conductors, and returned.

The Bishop of *Chester* hereupon, informes against these *Chester* men for visiting Mr. *Prynne*, & sends up their names to *Canterbury*, who having some notice of it before, was angry with the Bishop because he received not the first information from him, which the Bishop excused by his absence from *Chester* at that time: and to ingratiate himselfe the more with the Archbishop (between whom there passed many letters touching this businesse) to manifest his zeale to his Graces service, and his detestation against Mr. *Prynne* for the Archbishops sake, he in the first place makes an Order (entred into his Register) which he caused to be published in all the Churches of *Chester*, wherein hee slanders Mr. *Prynne*, his friends that visited him, with his fellow sufferers; enjoynes all the Ministers and lecturers in the Citie

publikely to preach againſt them, turning the Pulpit into a Paſquill. A Copy of which good Order (for the ſtrangneſſe of it) I have here inſerted.

A Copie of the Biſhop of Cheſters Order, read in Cheſter Churches, Aug. 28. 1637.

WHereas divers * perſons notorious and factious *Sciſmaticks*, have beene lately ſentenced in the high Court of *Starchamber*, for ſeditious bookes and Speeches againſt the Government both Eccleſiaſticall & Temporall of this Realme, in conveying ſome of them to priſon, ſome ſciſmaticall perſons of this *City of Cheſter*, to the afront of authority, factiouſly countenancing them, have moſt audatiouſly teſtified their approbation of the Offenders and their offences, not onely in words, but by entertaining the Offenders in ſuch ſort, as if they had * wrongfully and unjuſtly beene ſentenced: and have thereby alſo manifeſted their owne inclination to the like faction and ſciſme; for which it is likely they ſhall * receive condigne puniſhment: but in the meane time by reaſon thereof, this *City*, which hitherto (God be praiſed,) hath continued free from any inconformity and ſciſmaticall practices, is thereby much defamed, and the Government thereof, as well by the Temporall as Eccleſiaſticall Majeſtrate, may in time receive ſome blemiſh, unleſſe ſome ſpeedy cours bee taken therein: therefore the * *Lord Biſhop* of this Dioceſſe, having not without violent preſumptions, but with a great deale of ſorrow, juſt cauſe to ſuſpect ſome of the clergie of this City, as either openly or privately approving or encouraging the like ſciſme or faction, in diſcharge of his (*duty) hath thought good in his

* How prove you this Mr. Biſhop?

* The whole houſe of Commons hath *una voce* now reſolved as much and more.

* This Biſhop therefore was more then likely the chiefe perſecutor of *Cheſter* men in the High Commiſſion at *Yorke*.

* Who made him a Lord? his Patent ſurely termes him not ſo.

* Your dutie is to preach, not to make ſuch unjuſt Orders as theſe.

his triennial visitation, to order, and doth hereby order and decree, that every * Lecturer in any Parish Church of this City, before every his lecture or sermon, shall hence forth in his surplesse read prayers, distinctly, reverently and fully, according as it is prescribed in the book of Common prayer, and shall not preach but in his * surplesse: & that as well all such lecturers as all other persons Vicars and other Preachers, shall in their next lectures and sermons, after timely notice had of this order, make publike expression of their heartie detestation of the offences for which the said Offenders were censured, as tending notoriously to sciisme and sedition, and the breach of the unity of this Church; and effectually exhort the people to obedience, and to the avoidance of the like sciisme: all with his Lordship doth require of them upon their * canonicall obedience, and upon paine of suspention of the parties offending, or subterfuging, as also upon paine of suppressing that lecture, if any lecturer shall refuse the same, or be found deficient therein. Likewise it is hereby ordered by the said Lord Bishop, that no stranger of any other dioces shall bee permitted to preach in any Church of this City, without speciall licence of the Lord Bishop of this dioces, or in his absence, of his Chancellour or his surrogates: of all which the Church-wardens of every Parish are likewise ordered to take speciall notice, and to make presentment of any breach of these orders forth with unto his Lordship or his Chancellour, as they will answere it at their perrills. And to the end, that none may excuse themselves for want of notice of them; it is likewise ordered by the said Lord Bishop, that the same bee published on Sunday next in the afternoone, in the time of divine servis by the Minister, in every Church of the said City.

Quo jure, prescribe you this.

*Christ and his Apostles preached without one.

*We see here what canonicall obedience is.

Dated the 24. of *Aug.* 1637.

JOHN CESTRIEN.

Copia vera ita est.

This Episcopall, pious and charitable Order, was immediatly published in all the Churches in *Chester* the next Lords day, and thereupon some of the * Ministers there (and in other places) who needed no spurs to so devout a worke,) openly and byname rayled sundry times in their Sermons against Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton* and Dr. *Bastwick*, and the visitors of Mr. *Prynne*, calling them *Schismatickes*, *Rebels*, *Traytours*, *factious and seditious Persons*, *worse then any Priests or Iesuites*, *Rogues*, *Rascalls*, *Witches*, and comparing them to *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*; stretching their wits upon the tenterhookes to out-vie one another in rayling against them, to indeare themselves in the Prelates favours, and to make their libellous Pasquils a Stirrop to mount up to preferment, as * some of them were not ashamed to confesse.

Ducker, Cordwell and others; Heylin, Squire, and hundreds elsewhere.

* *Cordwell and his brother.*

After this, the Bishop and his Chancellour sending for *Calvin Bruen*, with others of *Chester*, and getting all the names of those who visited Mr. *Prynne* there, sent a Catalogue of them to the High Commissioners at *Yorke*, by *Canterburies* direction; who forthwith sent out their Pursevants with warrants to apprehend, and bring them up to *Yorke*; which the Pursevants did accordingly, carrying them away in the beginning of their greatest faire, to spite and prejudice them the more. The Pursevants tooke foure pound a man of every one of them for their fees, when they came there, an oath *Ex officio*, Articles upon Articles are administred to them, concerning their visiting of

Mr.

Mr. *Prynne* at *Chester*; which they confessing, they were for this sole offence, without any examination of witnesse, fined, some 500. some 300. some 250. l. imprisoned, and forced to enter Bond in 300. l. a peece, to stand to the further order of the Court, and to make such a publike acknowledgment of this great crime, both in the Cathedrall Church at *Chester* before the Congregation there, and likewise in the Towne Hall before the Maior, Aldermen and Citizens, as the Commissioners should prescribe them.

Hereupon an acknowledgement was drawne up, and the Pursevant sent downe to *Chester* to see it made; some of the parties, as Mr. *Lee*, and Mr. *Golbourne*, refused to make this wicked acknowledgment, whereupon their Bonds were estreated into the Exchequer as forfeited. Others through the Bishop of *Chesters* threats, and perswasions of the lawfulnesse of it, condescended to make it; two of them changing onely but one word of it, which they could not approve, saying *weakely* for *wickedly*, were enforced to make a new acknowledgement in the Church, or else the former would not be accepted by the Bishop and Commissioners. When the first of these acknowledgements was made in the Cathedrall by one Mr. *Inch*, and another, one *Cordwell* the Bishops Chaplaine preached a most invective Sermon against Mr. *Prynne*, Mr. *Burton*, Dr. *Bastwicke* and the *Chester* men, comparing them to *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abirom*, *and their complices*; which

Sermon

Sermon was sent up to *Canterbury* by *Cordwell*, who expected some great preferment for it, and solicited the Archbishop to have a printed. The next Sunday after, another Sermon on a text chosen for this occasion, was preached by Dr. *Snell* at the acknowledgement of *Calvin Bruen*, who used like invectives, though with more moderation.

The Copy of these acknowledgements, with the certificate of their performance under the Bishops and Maiors hands of *Chester*, I shall for the dignitie and rarity thereof, present unto your aspect, being such as no age can sampler.

A true Copie of the acknowledgement of *Calvin Bruen*, in the Cathedrall Church of *Chester*, and the Common Hall thereof, as followeth.

A *Declaration* or *Acknowledgement* appointed by his *Majesties Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall within the Dioceese and Province of Yorke*, to be done and performed by *Calvin Bruen* of the Citie of *Chester*, and *Province of Yorke*.

He is to be present in the Cathedrall Church of Chester aforesaid, at morning prayer on Sunday next comming, being the 10. *of December instant (being in his accustomed Apparrell) where and when immediatly*

diatly before the beginning of the Sermon, he shall stand before some seate or stoole before the Pulpit, and say and recite after the Minister as followeth.

Whereas I have beene of late convented before his Majesties Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall for the Diocesse and Province of Yorke, for that I countenanced, and comforted, and abetted one William Prynne, *heretofore twice censured in his Majesties Court of* Starchamber, *for publishing seditious and scandalous Bookes and Libells: namely, in that I* waited upon him to bring him into this City, and attended upon him at his going from the Citie, by all which my carriage and misdemeanours, I have audaciously and wickedly (as much as in me did lye) countenanced the sayd Prynne, and offered an affront to his Majestie and the State, in their just proceedings against him; and thereby also have brought a scandall and reproach upon this Citie; for all which my offences upon my personall answers made to the Articles in that behalfe objected against me, I stand legally and justly convicted and censured by his Majesties said Commissioners, and am by them enjoyned to make this Declaration and Acknowledgment for the same: I doe here in the presence of God and this Congregation, * confesse my sayd offences, and declare my hearty sorrow for the same, and doe aske forgivenesse of God, the Church, the Kings Maje.*

* This he denyed upon oath, for hee met him onely casually, and rode into the City before him, yet this those ungodly Commissioners enjoyned him to acknowledge directly contrary to his oath and the truth.

* Those that visited S. *Paul* in his journey as a Prisoner towards *Rome*, and went forth to meet him as far as *Appij Forum*, *Acts* 28. 14, 15. had no such acknowledgment injoyned them by *Nero*: Nor yet those to whom Christ shall say; *Come ye blessed of my Father, &c. I was in prison and yee visited me*, *Matth.* 25. 34. 36. Which Text these uncharitable High Commissioners and Prelates had forgotten, and so shall receive the doome of, *Goe yee cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the divell and his Angels; for I was in prison and yee visited me not*, *Matth.* 25. 41. 43. if they repent not.

stie and the State, as also of the whole Government, both Ecclesiasticall and temporall of this place against all whom I have so grievously offended: and in token this my confession for the present is hearty, and that I may obtaine grace hereafter to performe what I now promise, and find mercy for what is past, I desire you all to say with me the Lords prayer. Our Father, &c.

And he is injoyned by the authoritie aforesaid, to performe the like acknowledgement in the Common-Hall of the Citie of Chester before the Maior, Aldermen, and other Officers and Citizens of the same Citie, at a publike meeting or Assembly, by them the said Maior and Aldermen to be appointed.

And lastly of the due performance hereof, he is to bring a certificate to his Majesties said Commissioners, at the Manner house of the most reverend Father in God the Lord Archbishop of Yorke *his Grace, situate at* Bishop-thrope *neare the Citie of* Yorke, *upon Thursday next after the feast of* St. Hillery *the Bishop, next comming, betweene the hours of one and three of the clocke in the afternoone the same day, together with these presents.*

Rich. Ebor. Ph. Hudson.
Geo. Stanhope. Ioh. Menshem.
W. Easdall.

Concordat cum decreto curiæ } LVPTON.

The

The Bishop of *Chesters* Certificat of the performance of this acknowledgement.

THis Order of pennance was accordingly performed by *Calvin Bruen* in the Cathedrall Church of *Chester*, who spake it *Verbatim* aloud after the Preacher Dr. *Snell*, Archdeacon of *Chester*, upon Sunday the 17. day of *December*, 1637. A Text being * selected for this occasion, *Matth.* 18. 17 whereupon he tooke occasion, *both to shew the foulenesse of those seditious persons offences, and the great mercy of the King in sparing their lives, as also the danger which these countenancers and offenders had runne into, being by the * Law liable to the like punishments, if mercy had not conveyed them before the Church, but before the Temporall Iudges at the Kings Bench*; the penitent *Bruen* himselfe * acknowledged now as much.

* How doe Prelates and their Agents wrest the Scriptures, to justifie their ungodly proceedings?

* The Dr. was mistaken in the Law; it being no capitall offence by Law or Gospel, but a commendable charitable Act to visit Prisoners.

* You forced or feined him to doit.

Coram Jo. Cestrien.

THis declaration and order of Pennance herein mentioned, was performed by the within named * Calvin Bruen *before us the Maior, Recorder, Aldermen and Common counsell, with divers Citizens of the said Citie, at an Assembly and generall meeting by us appointed in the Common Hall upon Tuesday the* 12. *day of this instant December*, 1637.

* The Parliament hath now voted him good damages for his injustice.

Tho. Throppe Maior. Edward Whitby. Charles Wally.
Tho. Smith. William Gamull. Wil. Edwards.
Richard Litler, *Clerke of the peace of the City of Chester.*

These proceedings against the *Chester* men for visiting Mr. *Prynne* were so fierce and formidable, (the Pursevants ransacking and breaking up their houses,) that two of their wives with the very fright miscaried of their children, and never enjoyed their health since; others of them were forced to fly the country, their friends and kindred not daring to harbour them: others of them were quite ruined in their estates and trades; others inforced to purchase their peace of the Archbishop by bribes * to him and his servants, and great summes of money were payd and secured for composition for these fines; yea their malice was so great, that they persecuted some in the High Commission, who never saw Mr. *Prynnes* face under pretext they had visited him; and the Host in whose common Inne he there lodged, for entertayning him in his house as a guest, paying for all he there expended. Such was the tyranny, such the injustice of these holy Prelates and Commissioners, who ever moved as the *Primum mobile* of *Canterbury* steared their course, and the * Bishop of *Chester* gave them information from this Delphian Oracle.

* Two Buts of Sack which cost 48. pound the Bishop had for his share.

* As appears by divers most malicious and mischevous letters under his hand & seale to the Archbishop of *Yorke*, against the *Chester* men, and Mr *Bostocke*, who suffered much in this case by his means.

But shall Mr. *Prynne* scape scotfree, whiles his friends thus suffer for his sake? No I warrant you: The High Commissioners in their censures of his visiters, vomited out their Gall against him in satyricall invectives; and Dr. *Wickam*, Deane of *Yorke*, striving to exceede his Colleagues in dogged eloquence, did at their censure in open Court

Court *Novem.* 15. 1637, uſe theſe words of him. *See the impudence of Prynne, that walkes in the ſtreets of Cheſter to buy Hangings for his Chamber; whereas he ſhould have covered his face with the Leper, and cryed, I am uncleane, I am uncleane. He deſerved to have loſt his necke for his* * *Perpetuity: and had he not had a gracious Prince, his hangings had beene provided at London. But to leave that miſcreant, for I know no: what to call him, &c.* And theſe Commiſſioners hearing that there were Pictures of Mr. *Prynnes* portraiture in *Cheſter*, perſecuted the poore Painter (whom they oft examined upon oath) for drawing them, and then made two Orders in Court, firſt to deface, and then to burne them publikely at the Croſſe in *Cheſter*. The Copies of which Orders and of the Chancellour of *Cheſters* Letters in anſwer to them, expreſſing the manner how they were executed, I ſhall here annex.

* A booke he writ againſt the *Arminians*, licenſed for the Preſſe by Dr. *Featly*.

The High Commiſſioners Warrant to Dr. *Mainwaring* for defacing the Pictures of *William Prynne*, which Dr. had ſeiſed on the Pictures before this Order.

WHereas it was credibly informed unto us & other our Colleagues his Majeſties Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſticall within the Dioceſſe and Province of *Yorke*, that there are remaining in your Cuſtody and keeping foure Pictures, of the Portrature of *William Prynne*, whereupon wee or our Colleagues his Majeſties ſaid Commiſſionours did decree that notice or di-

rection should be given unto you for the defacing of the said Pictures. These are therefore in the Kings Majesties name, and by * vertue of his High Commission for causes Ecclesiasticall within the Diocesse and Province of *Yorke* to us and others directed (as aforesaid,) to will and require you, that upon receite hereof, you spoyle and deface, or else cause to be spoyled or defaced the aforesaid Pictures; the which being done you deliver or cause to be delivered to *Thomas Pulford* of the Citie of *Chester* Limmer, or to his use, the frames of the said Pictures, and this shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalfe: given under our hands the 10. day of *November*, *Anno Dom.* 1637.

* Which certainly extended not to warrant this action.

Rich. Ebor. *G. Stanhope.*
W. Easdall.

To the right worshipfull Edmund Mainwaring *Doctor of Lawes, Vicar Generall, and Officiall principall to the reverend Father in God,* John *Lord Bishop of* Chester.

What this Dr. did upon this Warrant, his letter to the Archbishop of *Yorke*, under his owne hand and seale will informe you.

To the most reverend Father in God His singular good Lord, *the Lord Archbishop of Yorke* his * Grace, Primate of *England* and Metropolitan, and one of his Majesties most Honorable Privy Councell.

* There was little grace in these proceedings.

Most Reverend my humble duty presented.

May it please your Grace to be advertised, that upon the late receite of your commands, I caused the Pictures

Pictures of the portraiture of William Prynne *(being five in number) to be defaced before my Lord* of* Chester, *and in the presence of a publike notarie; since which time my Lord of* Chester *hath received intimation, that it is your graces pleasure that the said Pictures should be publikely burned. I am* sorry that my zeale and duty to obedience hath anticipated your late resolutions; But I have the Frames still in my custody, and shall (in all humblenesse of duty) be most ready to dispose of them as I shall be commanded. Thus hoping of your Graces favourable censure, I humbly take my leave and shall rest,*

* A cheese actour in this Tragedy, and one able to render good damages for this good service.

* Alas good man that you should have such a cause of sorrow.

Chester the 15. of *Novem.* 1637.

Your Graces in all duty to be commanded

W. MAINVVARING.

These High Commissioners not satisfied with the defacing of these Pictures, would needs proceede to burne them for Heretickes, and since they could not burne Mr. *Prynne* in person, as they desired, being then on the Sea sayling towards *Ierſy*: they would doe it at least by Effigie, and to shew the extravagancy of their unlimited malice, not onely the Pictures, but the very Frames wherein they stood (poore innocents) must to the fire, for which they issue forth this Order.

The

The Warrant for burning Mr. *Prynnes Pictures.*

VVHereas we or others our Colleagues his Majeſties Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, within the Dioceſſe and Province of *Yorke* (by our Order or decree interpoſed in that behalfe) and by our Warrant thereupon to you directed, did order and appoint that whereas there were certaine Pictures of the Portraiture of *William Prynne* remaining in your cuſtody, that the ſame Pictures ſhould be defaced, and the frames thereof delivered to *Thomas Pulford* Painter, who drew the ſaid Pictures, or to his uſe: we notwithſtanding upon more * mature conſideration, have againe ordered and decreed, that the aforeſaid Pictures be not onely ſpoyled and defaced, but the frames thereof burnt in ſome publike place, or ſtreete within the Citie of *Cheſter*, by you to be appointed. Theſe are therefore in the Kings * Majeſties name, and by vertue of his Highneſſe Commiſſion, for cauſes Eccleſiaſticall within the Province of *Yorke*, to us and others directed as aforeſaid, to will and require you forthwith upon receite hereof, to burne or cauſe to bee burnt all the ſaid frames in the ſaid ſtreets of *Cheſter*, or ſuch places as you ſhall thinke fit; and this ſhall be your *ſufficient Warrant and diſcharge in that behalfe; Given under our hands the fourth day of *Decem. An. Dom.* 1637.

* It ſeemes there was much counſell taken to effect this notable exploit. I dare ſay *Canterburie Oracle* was conſulted withall, ere this was decreed.

* You may be aſhamed thus to abuſe his Majeſties name and authority.

* I doubt it will ſcarſe be ſufficient to free the Dr. from damages, when ſued by Mr. *Prynne*.

Rich. Ebor.

To the Right Worſhipfull Edmund Mainwaring *Doctor of Lawes, Chancellour to the Right Reverend Father in God,* John *Lord Biſhop of* Cheſter.

Ph. Hodſon.
Geo. Stanhoppe.
H. Wickham.
W. Eaſdall.

Concordat cum decreto curiæ } LVPTON.

What

What execution was done upon this Warrant, this Chancellours letter, by way of certificate to the Prelate of *Yorke*, will best informe.

To the most Reverend Father in God the Lord *Archbishop of Yorke his Grace*; Primate of *England* and Metropolitan, and one of his Majesties most Honorable Privy Councell, and the rest of his Majesties Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall at *Yorke*.

Most Reverend,

THese are in all humblenesse to certifie your Grace, and the rest of his Majesties Commissioners, for causes Ecclesiasticall within the Province of Yorke, *that upon Tuesday last, being the* 12. *day of this instant* December, *I delivered the five frames, containing of late the Portraiturs of* Prynnes *Pictures to* * *Mr. Blancherd, who caused the same to bee publikely burnt at the High Crosse in* Chester, *in the presence of the Maior, Aldermen and other Citizens, and Persons, to the number of a* 1000. *as was conceived, according to the Tenour of your late Warrant; which was performed with the publike acclamation of the people, crying out,* Burne them, burne them: *Thereby attesting the hatred of* Prynnes *person, and his proceedings: In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name, the* 13. *day of* December *this present yeare of our Lord,* 1637.

* Pursevant to the high Commission at *Yorke*.

* The Pursevant standing there in his Coat of Armes bid them cry thus in the Kings name, and commanded the Maior and Aldermen to be present at this Bonfire.

Your Graces humble servant,

Ed. Mainwaring.

I cannot here omit one memorable Act of this Biſhop of *Cheſter*, ſo zealous againſt Mr. *Prynne* and his *Cheſter* Friends that viſited him. One Mrs. *Hauton* of *Grimſor* in *Lancaſhire* a Popiſh recuſant, hearing of Dr. *Baſtwicks*, Mr. *Burtons* and Mr *Prynnes* ſufferings (with which the Roman Catholikes were overjoyed) having three Cats, ſet them on a kind of Pillory, where ſhe cut of all their eares, and ſeared one of them in the cheekes, and then called them by the names of *Baſtwick Burton* and *Prynne*, to the great offence of many. One Mr. *Fogge* a grave Miniſter neare, certified this Prelate of it being within his Dioceſſe, deſiring him twice or thrice to take ſome order for the queſtioning and puniſhing this audacious Recuſant for this ſtrange fact, which tended to the deriſion of juſtice, and the diſgrace of thoſe of our Religion: But he, good Prelate, inſtead of queſtioning the delinquents, checkes the informer for a buſie fellow, and in liew of reformation falls to imitation of this Papiſt, hee and his ſervants ordinary calling a crop-eared Horſe of his by the name of *Prynne*. I feare this Horſe had more charitie then his Lord and Maſter the Biſhop, and that if he be yet alive, his very name if he want a voyce, will be ſufficient **to rebuke* the malice and *madneſſe of this Balaam, covetous* and *falſe Prophet*, who durſt, by way of ſcorne, chriſten an irrationall Beaſt, with the name of a better Chriſtian than himſelfe, *and curſe thoſe Saints whom God hath bleſſed* (yea honored in deſpite of

2 Pet. 2. 15. 16.

all the Prelats tyranny, calumnies, oppoſitions and aſperſions) which * *Balaam himſelfe refuſed to doe.* Num. 23. 12. 13. 20. 23. 25. 16.

The meanes and manner of Mr. *Burtons*, Mr. *Prynnes* and Dr. *Baſtwicks*, returnes from exile.

YOu have ſeene already the manner and time of Dr. *Baſtwicks*, Mr. *Burtons*, and Mr. *Prynnes* baniſhments and cloſe impriſonments in three remote *Iſles* and *Caſtles*, and how two of their wives, and all their kindred and friends were debarred acceſſe unto them by the Lords Orders. Miſtris *Baſtwick* and Miſtris *Burton* like two ſolitary Widdowes thus forcibly divorſed from the Company of their deare husbands, oft petitioned both to his Majeſtie and the Lords, for liberty to viſit them, or to reſide in the Iſles where they were ſhut up (like dead men in their ſepulchres) under Lockes, Bolts, Keyes and Guards, or if this might not be granted, that they might have ſo much favour, as to be ſhut up cloſe Priſoners with them. But the Arch-Prelate of Canterbury, out of the tranſcendency of his malicious power, dealt ſo both with his Majeſtie and the Lords, that their Petitions were ſtill rejected with a negative anſwer: and fearing leaſt the *Queenes* Majeſtie (out

of a tender commiseration of those of her owne Sex, thus wrongfully seperated from their owne Yoke-fellowes, without any default of theirs) might be moved to interceed to the King in their behalfe, for accesse to their solitary exiled husbands; hee so farre prevailed with her *Highnesse*, (if I be not misinformed) as to procure a promise from (if not a command to) her Majestie, not once to move the King for any of these two prisoners or their wives, or for Mr. *Prynne*, nor to intermeddle in their businesse. And whereas his *Majesty*, by way of explanation of the Lords Order of the 27. of *August*, made at *Oatlands*, upon the motion of Sir *Thomas Iermin* in Mr. *Prynnes* behalfe, was pleased to signifie, that Mr. *Prynne* should have liberty to goe to Church, and receive the Sacrament within the Castle of *Mountorgueil*, and to walke with his Keeper privately in the walkes or Gardens there, and that hee might read all such bookes as were allowed. The *Archbishop* hearing of this explanation, was so* enraged, that he sent a messenger for one Mr. *Hungerford*, who was imployed in procuring it, to appeare before the Lords at *Oatlands*; charging him to have forged this explanation, onely becaus the King had not first acquainted him therewith before it was granted: where appearing, the Arch-Bishop tooke him up sharpely, for forging this explanation; but he affirming, that the Governour (Sir *Thomas Iermyn*) hath procured it, and that he had it under his hand in writing, and the Earle

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Earle of *Dorſet* atteſting as much; he was ordered to ſhew the originall explanation to Sir *Dudley Carlton* under the governours hand, which hee did, and ſo the Prelate (unable to reverſe it) was forced to let it paſſe againſt his good will.

It pleaſed God, not long after this, beyond the Prelates expectation, to bring a Parliament together; to which theſe Priſoners wives and friends intended to ſue, for their reliefe and enlargement. But that Parliament proving abortive, and breaking up ſuddenly in diſcontent by the Prelates machinations, before any Petitions preferred on their behalfe, they ſtill remained hopeleſſe of all humain deliverance. But the great Moderator of the Vniverſe miraculouſly turning all theſe Prelats pernicious deſignes againſt our State and Church upon themſelves, and fettering them in the ſnares they had laid to intrap others, contrary to their elevated hopes and thoughts, unexpectedly cauſed and ſummoned this ſecond Parliament; to the ineffable happineſſe both of the preſent and future ages: which no ſooner aſſembled together, but Miſtris *Baſtwick* Miſtris *Burton*, and a friend of Mr. *Prynnes*, exhibited ſeverall petitions to the houſe of Commons, that they might be all ſent for out of hand to proſecute their grievances and complaints before them, againſt their unjuſt cenſures; which petitions were very cordially received and readily granted by the Commons houſe, and ſeverall Orders made upon them for the reducing of theſe cloſe impriſoned Exiles, from their long

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tie. The Coppy of one of theſe Orders, followeth in theſe termes.

The Houſe of Commons Order, and Mr. Speakers Warrant thereon.

IT is Ordered this day by the Commons Houſe of Parliament, that a Warrant ſhall iſſue forth under Mr. Speakers hand, directed to the Governour or Captaine of Caſtle Cornet *in the Iſle of* Garnſey, *or any others whom it may concerne. Thereby requiring and charging them and every of them forthwith to ſend up to the ſaid Houſe of Commons in ſafe cuſtody,* Mr. Henry Burton *now cloſe priſoner, in the ſaid Caſtle Cornet in the ſaid Iſle of Garneſey, that he may before them proſecute his complaints, according to a Petition this day delivered to this houſe by* Miſtris Sara Burton *his wife. And withall to require them whom it may Concerne, to certifie to the houſe, by what Warrant and authoritie he is there deteyned cloſe priſoner. And hereof you are not to faile as you will anſwer the contrary. And for your ſo doing this ſhall be your Warrant. Dated this preſent 7. day of* November. *Anno Regis* Caroli *decimo ſexto, Annoq; Dom.* 1640.

William Lenthall Speaker.

To the Governour, Captaine, Lieutenant and Keeper of Caſtle Cornet in the Iſle of Gurneſey, or any others in whoſe Cuſtody the above named Mr. Henry Burton *now is.*

This Warrant arrived at *Garneſey Caſtle* the 15. day of the ſame *November*, being the very day of the Moneth that Mr. *Burton* firſt landed there as a priſoner, and on the 17. day of this moneth, Mr. *Prynne* (who arrived at *Ierſey* the 17. of *Ianuary* 1637.) received the tidings of a like warrant at *Mountorgueil* Caſtle there, for his inlargement and returne thence: who departing by boate from thence on the 19. day of the ſame *November* early in the morning, met with Mr. *Burton* at *Gerneſey*, and dined with him there the ſame day: whence both of them the 21. of ſame moneth, ſetting ſaile together in one Barke (formerly hired at *Hampton* by their friends who brought the Warrants) the next day (being the Lords day) about nine of the clocke at night they both ſafely landed at *Dartmouth* in *Devonſhire*, the wind not ſerving to carry them to *Southampton*; from whence they departing on Horſebacke the next day towards *London*, ſafely arrived there on Saturday following (being the 28. of *November*) to the great joy of all good people. In their paſſage to *London*, divers of their friends (at *Dartmouth*, *Exeter*, *Lime*, *Dorcheſter*, *Salisbury*, *Andover*, *Baſing*, and elſewhere) viſited, and accompanied them on Horſebacke ſome part of their way. About three miles beyond *Eggham*, Miſtris *Burton*, with about a hundred and fiftie more of their friends from *London*, met them, ſome in Coaches, ſome on horſeback, and ſupped with them at *Eggham*, where they lodged the Friday night. The next morning early, multi-

multitudes of their friends from *London* and elſe-where, met them at *Stanes*, and came flocking in-to them afreſh every foote, till they came to *Brain-ford*, where they dined: all the way from *Stanes* to *Brainford* was very full of people which came to meete and welcome them into *England*, ſome in Coaches, others on Horſebacke, others on foote. After dinner they tooke Horſe for *London*, ri-ding both together; but the way betweene *Brain-ford* and *London*, though broad, was ſo full of Coaches, Horſes, and people to congratulate their returne, that they were forced to make ſtoppes, and could not ride ſcarce one mile an houre, ſo that it was almoſt night ere they came to *Charing Croſſe*, where they encountred ſuch a world of people in the ſtreets, that they could hardly paſſe them, the Citie Marſhall when they came into the *Old Baily*, being forced to make way for them with his horſe Troope: the croud of people was ſo great that they were neare three houres in paſſing from *Charing Croſſe* to their lodgings in the Citie, having Torches caryed to light them, when it grew darke. The people were ſo extraordinarily joyfull of their returne, that they rang the Bells in moſt places they paſſed, for joy; ran to ſalute and ſhake them by the hands, crying out with one Vnanimous ſhout, *Welcome home, welcome home, God bleſſe you, God bleſſe you; God bee thanked for your returne*, and the like; yea, they ſtrewed the wayes where they rode with hearbs and flowers, and running to their Gardens, brought *Roſemary*

and

and *Bayes* thence, which they gave to them and the company that rode with them into *London*; who were eſtimated to be about a 100. Coaches (many of them having ſix horſes a peece,) and at leaſt 2000. Horſe, thoſe on foote being innumerable. The day they came from *Eggam* into *London*, the ſunne aroſe moſt gloriouſly upon them ſoone after they came out of their Inne, without any cloud, (which they both obſerved) and ſo continued ſhining all the day, without interpoſition of any obſtacle to ecclipſe its Rayes, ſo as Heaven and Earth conſpired together to ſmile upon them, and to congratulate their ſafe returnes from their Bonds and Exiles. On Munday morning following, (being the 30. of *November*) they were both preſented by their Keepers who came with them, to the Commons houſe, into which they were called, Mr. *Prynne* firſt, and then Mr. *Burton*; where they had liberty granted to frame new Petitions in their owne names according to their owne liking, and to preſent them to the houſe as ſoone as they could prepare them. Mr. *Prynne* on the third of *December* preſented his Petition in the Commons houſe, which was read, and hee called in to avow it. And thereupon the ſame day a ſpeciall Committee conſiſting of 60. members of the Houſe, were ordered to heare Mr. *Prynnes* Petition and Mr. *Burtons* (preferred two dayes after) together with Mr. *Prynnes* Mans and the *Cheſter* mens Petitions, who were, cenſured in the High Commiſſion at

Yorke for viſiting Mr. *Prynne* in his paſſage to *Carnarvan*; which Committee was further ordered, *to receive all Petitions of like nature, and to examine the Iuriſdiction and abuſes of the Star-Chamber, the High Commiſsion, and Counsell Table.* This Committee met the ſame day after dinner in the *Star-Chamber* Court, (the place where theſe Petitioners were cenſured) and making choiſe of Mr. *Alexander Rigby* of *Grayes Inne* for their Cheireman, they proceeded on in the hearing of Mr. *Prynnes* Petition firſt, and next of Mr *Burtons*: A true Coppy of whoſe Petitions, and like wiſe of Dr. *Baſtwickes*, you ſhall here receive together.

TO

TO THE HONOVRABLE.

The Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of the Commons Houſe of *Parliament.*

The humble Petition of William Prynne, *late exile, and cloſe Priſoner in the* Iſle of *Ierſey.*

In all humbleneſſe ſheweth,

THAT *your Petitioner, though not conſcious to himſelfe* of any voluntary or apparant offence againſt the Lawes of the Realme (to which hee ever ſtudied to conforme himſelfe) through the malicious practices and proſecutions of ſome *Prelates and Church-men*, (eſpecially the now *Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury*, and *Peter Heylin*, Doctor in Divinitie) whoſe errours and Innovations, contrary to the eſtabliſhed Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, & extravagancies in the High Commiſſion, & other Eccleſiaſticall Courts, your

Petitioner (for his owne reliefe, being there unjustly prosecuted) had to his weake power oppugned; hath within eight yeares last past, undergone two heavy Censures in the Starre-Chamber Court.

The first upon an Information there exhibited against your Petitioner, by Mr. *Noy*, deceased; then Attourney Generall, for some misconstrued passages, (inoffensive in themselves, and in your Petioners true intention, being for the most part the words of other approved Authors,) compriſed in a Booke, stiled *Histriomastix*, written by the Petitioner, against common Interludes, and licensed for the presse by Mr. *Thomas Buckner*, household Chaplaine to the then Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, authorized by the State to license Bookes, and by him exactly perused, and approved both in the written and printed Copy, before its publication, and so confessed in the Information; for which authorized Booke and passages, your Petitioner, before the hearing of the cause, was not onely imprisoned in the Tower of *London* without Baile or Mainprise, for a whole yeares space, denyed accesse to his Councell, convenient time to examine witnesses, and make Breviats to instruct his Counsell (the information being Generall, and reciting no particular Clauses of the Booke excepted against) his exhibits, (the onely meanes of his defence,) illegally suppressed: some of his Counsell Tampered with to make no justification, contrary to your Petitioners

tioners instructions, and desire, whereby his cause miscarried: but also at the hearing, by reason of those malicious and perverse glosses on the said passages, which the said* *Heylin* had collected and presented to his Majesties learned Counsell, (who repeated his Instructions onely) your Petitioner *was fined* 5000. *pounds to his Majesty, expelled the Universitie of* Oxford, *and* Lincolnes Inne, *degraded, put from his profession of the Law, wherein he never offended, Set in the Pillory in the* * Pallace-yard *at* Westminster, *where he lost one of his Eares, and three dayes after on the Pillory in* * Cheapside, *where hee lost the other Eare, and had his said Licensed Bookes there publikely burnt before his face by the* Hang man, *in a most disgracefull manner; and was adjudged after all this to remaine a prisoner during his life.*

* Who now durst not avow his collections before the Committee.

* On Wednesday the seventh of *May*, 1637.

* On Saturday the 10. of *May*.

That after the said censure to defame and injure your Petitioner the more, hee was charged wrongfully in the Decree, as censured for perjury, though not taxed for it by the Court: and betweene his suffrings in the Pillory, the Bookes of his Studie (twice surveyed, and restored to him by order from the Lords) before any fine estreated, by a warrant out of the High Commission, signed by the sayd Arch-Bishop and others, were seised on by *Crosse* a messenger, who carried them to his house; with which warrant your Petitioner not long after charging the said Arch-Bishop upon occasion, in the open Court of Star-chamber; hee there publikely

disavowed the same (though your Petitioner can yet produce it under his owne hand,) promising withall, that the Bookes should bee restored forthwith; which notwithstanding were all still detained by his meanes, till they were extended and sold for your Petitioners Fine: Who shortly after, by an indirect Order procured out of the said Court, sent to the Tower to bee executed, was shut up close prisoner, and *Doctor Reeves* sent thither to search his Chamber for a Pamphlet, which the said Arch-Bishop would wrongfully have Fathered upon your Petitioner, whose friends have beene unjustly prosecuted in the Exchequer, and elsewhere, sundry yeares, for his Fine aforesaid.

And your Petitioner further saith, that about *Easter* was three yeares, during his imprisonment in the Tower, by meanes of the said Arch-Bishop, a new Information was exhibited into the sayd Court against your Petitioner, and others, with certaine Bookes thereto annexed: *Denying the Prelats Iurisdiction over other Ministers, to be Iure-divino; Charging them with many errours and innovations in Religion, Vsurpations upon his Majesties Prerogative, & the Subjects libertie, abuses and extortions in the High Commission, and other Ecclesiasticall Courts, suppressing Preaching and painefull Ministers without cause; Lycensing Popish, Arminian, and other Erronious Bookes against the Sabbath, setting up Altars, Images and Crucifixes; Removing, and Railing in Communion Tables,*

bles, and Bowing downe to them; Altering the Booke of Common Prayer, the Bookes for the Gunpouder Treason, and late Fast, in some Materiall passages in favour of Popery and Papists. Which things (though very notorious, and oft complained against by this Honorable house, in former and late Parliaments) were yet reputed Scandalous. And though neither of the said Bookes was particularly charged on your Petitioner, in the said Information, nor any witnesse produced to prove him either Author, or dispersor of any of them; yet by denying your Petitioner liberty to draw up his owne Answer (though once a Barrister at Law) when as his assigned Counsell refused to doe it; by close imprisoning your Petitioner, and his Servant; by debarring him Pen, Inke and Paper; whereby to Answer, or instruct his Counsell; seaching his Chamber, and taking away part of his Answer there found; denying him Accesse to his Counsell, and conference with his Co-defendants, even at Counsell, though joyntly charged with him; Rejecting the Crosse Bill exhibited by him for his defence; threatning Mr. *Holt*, one of your Petitioners assigned Counsell, sent by the then Lord Keeper to the Tower, to draw up your Petitioners Answer, and commanding him not to signe it, after it was engrossed: (whereupon hee refused to subscribe it, contrary to his promise to your Petitioner;) and by refusing to accept your Petitioners Answers to the said Information, signed with his owne, and Master *Tomlins*, (another

ther of his Counсells) hands, through tendred by your Petitioner, both at the Star-chamber Office, and in the open Court at the hearing: the ſaid Information, for a ſuppoſed default of Anſwer, (though two Anſwers were thereto tendred by your Petitioner) was taken *Pro confeſſo* againſt your Petitioner, and he thereupon *Fined five thouſand pounds to his Majeſtie, Pillored, Stigmatized on both cheekes, Mutilated and diſmembred, in a moſt barbarous manner, and the ſmall remainder of his Eares, left after his firſt execution, cut off, to the hazard of his hearing, and life, and adjudged to perpetuall cloſe impriſonment in the Goale of* Carnarvan Caſtle *in* North-Wales, *a Naſty Dog hole, farre remote from your Petitioners Friends.* Which ſentence was unduely drawne up and executed upon your Petitioner, (as his Attourneyes Cleark informed him) before it was entred into the Booke, or your Petitioner could get any copie of it, to except againſt the ſame, as hee had juſt cauſe.

That immediatly after the Execution of the ſame ſentence, your Petitioner ſent to the ſayd Arch-Biſhop to deſire him to releaſe, or Baile his ſervant (who was detained cloſe priſoner for ten weekes ſpace in the meſſengers hands, and oft examined and ſolicited by faire promiſes, and threatnings cauſleſſely to accuſe your Petitioner, againſt whom they wanted evidence) that ſo hee might attend him during his ſoares, which the ſaid Archbiſhop out of his *Grace* and *Charity*, utterly

terly refuſed: ſaying, *that he intended to proceede againſt his ſaid ſervant in the High Commiſsion*; where hee hath ever ſince vexed, cenſured, and banded him from Priſon to Priſon, onely for refuſing to accuſe and betray your Petitioner.

That after the ſaid heavie ſentence, your Petitioner by an order in the ſaid Court, (by way of addition to the ſaid cenſure,) *was inhibited the uſe of Pen, Inke, and Paper, and all Bookes, except the Bible, and the Booke of Common Prayer, and ſome Bookes for private Devotion*; and before his wounds were perfectly cured, hee was by order removed from the Tower to *Carnarvan*, and ſome of his friends in *Cheſter*, who viſited him there in his paſſage, in the preſence of his Conductors, who had no order to reſtraine any perſon from reſorting to him, were for this very cauſe ſent for by a Meſſenger, to appeare before the Lords of the Privie Councell, and likewiſe cited into the High Commiſſion at *Yorke*, where they were impriſoned, fined & forced to make a publike Recantation in the Cathedrall Church, and in the Towne-Hall of *Cheſter*: The ſaid Commiſſioners further decreeing, that five pictures of your Petitioners found in *Cheſter*, ſhould be publikely burnt at the high Croſſe there, which was done accordingly.

That your Petitioner ſince his ſaid ſentence, hath beene publikely reviled at, and libelled againſt, both by the high Commiſſioners at *Yorke*,

and in ſundry Churches, both at *Cheſter* and elſewhere, and in * diverſe licenſed printed bookes, compiled by the ſaid *Heylen*, and publiſhed by the Arch-biſhops privity or command, and that ſundry of his friends houſes and ſtudies have beene violently broken up and ranſacked, their Bookes and writings taken away, and themſelves proſecuted in the high Commiſſion, out of malice, for the relation they had to your Petitioner.

* A Moderate anſwer to *Henry Burton Antidotum Lincolnienſe*, &c.

That after your Petitioner had continued ſome ten weekes ſpace cloſe priſoner in *Carnarvan*, he was about three yeares ſince, by a warrant from the Lords of the Counſell, made in the ſummer vacation, (to which the ſaid Arch-Biſhops hand was firſt preſcribed) ordered by way of Exile, to be imbarqued and tranſported with all privacy into one of the Caſtles in the *Iſle* of *Ierſey*, and his conductors thereby charged, not to admit any perſon whatſoever, but themſelves onely, to ſpeake with your Petitioner in his paſſage: Whereupon, after ſome injuries there received by Mr. *Griffith*, the Kings Atturney in thoſe parts (who endeavoured to ſeize upon the furniture of his chamber for his owne uſe) your Petitioner was imbarqued among Papiſts, in a bruiſed ſhip-wrackt veſſell, full of * leakes, & after foureteene weekes voyage in the Winter ſeaſon, through dangerous ſtormes and ſeas, which ſpoyled moſt of his ſtuffe, and bedding, and threatned often ſhip-wrack to him, he arrived at the ſaid Iſle, and

* Since that caſt away.

and was conveyed close prisoner into *Mount Orgnile Castle* there; where the Lieutenant Governour by another extrajudiciall Order (to which the said Arch-Bishops name was first) was ordered, to keepe your Petitioner close prisoner in a chamber; to suffer none but his keepers to speake with him, to intercept all Letters to him; to permit him neither pen, Inke, nor paper, either to write to his friends for necessaries, or to petition for relefe; and to permit him no Booke but the Bible, and those forenamed Bookes, without giving any order for his dyet there. So that being deprived of his calling, and estate; exiled and shut up close prisoner among strangers, remote from all his friends, (denyed all accesse to him by person or letters,) he had certainly perished in his almost three yeares close imprisonment there, had not the extraordinary providence and goodnesse of God (which hee shall ever adore,) and the noble charitie of those, under whose custody hee did remaine, furnished him with such dyet and necessaries, as preserved him both in health and life, in this his close imprisonment and exile.

May it therefore please this Honourable House, to take these your petitioners almost eight yeares tragicall grievances, (of new and dangerous example,) into your most sad and just considerations, that so they may not become presidents to the prejudice of posteri-

ty; to grant him liberty to ſend for, and examine all neceſſary witneſſes: to order all Clerks, Regiſters, and other Officers of the Star-chamber, or elſewhere, ſpeedily and freely to grant him the copies of ſuch orders, decrees, and writings, as his cauſe ſhall require: to releaſe him upon Baile, (being now but a priſoner onely upon an extrajudiciall order of the Lords, and not by Vertue of any ſentence or decree in Court;) To grant him liberty to plead and proſecute his owne cauſe, ſince counſell hath ſo often failed him; and to give him ſuch ſatisfaction and reliefe, as the juſtice and equitie of his cauſe ſhall merit.

And your Petitioner ſhall ever pray, &c.

WILLIAM PRYNNE.

TO THE HONORABLE THE Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the Commons Houſe of Parliament.

The humble Petition of Henry Burton *late Exile, and cloſe Priſoner in Caſtle-Cornet, in the Iſle of* Garnſey.

In all humbleneſſe ſheweth,

THat whereas your Petitioner, on the 5. of *November* 1636. did preach two Sermons in his owne Pariſh Church, in St. *Matthew Friday-ſtreet London*, for the which hee was in *December* then next following, ſummoned to appeare before Dr. *Ducke*, one of the Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, at *Chiſwicke*, in the County of *Middleſex*: where (with the Regiſter of the High Commiſſion Court) the ſaid Dr. *Ducke* tendred to the Petitioner, the Oath *Ex Officio*, to anſwer to certaine Articles there preſented: which Oath the Petitioner refuſing to take, did then and there appeale from the ſaid Court, unto the Kings Majeſty: which appeale the ſaid Regiſter by Dr. *Ducks* direction, did then, and there enter in writing.

Notwithſtanding which ſaid appeale, a ſpeciall High Commiſſion Court, was ſhortly after called at *London*, conſiſting of foure or five Doctors, where the ſaid Commiſſioners proceeded illegally, to ſuſpend the Petitioner in

in his abſence; by meanes whereof, as of the threatnings of the ſaid Commiſsioners, he was inforced to keepe his houſe, untill a Sergeant at Armes, with divers Purſevants, and other armed Officers, aſſiſted by Alderman *Abell*, then Sheriffe of *London*, beſet the Petitioners Houſe, at 11. of the clocke at night, and violently broke open his dores, with Iron Crowes, and the like, and ſurpriſed him in his houſe, he making no reſiſtance at all: where having firſt ſearched his ſtudy, and taking away ſuch bookes as they pleaſed, they carried your Petitioner to priſon; whence the next day (being the ſecond of *February*) by a pretended order from the Lords of the Counſell, he was conveyed to the Fleet, and there kept cloſe priſoner.

During which impriſonment, an information was exhibited againſt the Petitioner, and others, in his Majeſties Court of Star-Chamber, whereby he was charged (*inter alia*) with the publiſhing of a certaine Booke, containing, *an Apologie for an Appeale*, with his ſaid two Sermons, intituled, *God and the King*; wherein hee taught Subjects to yeeld all manner of due obedience to their lawfull King, and reproved all lawleſſe Innovations in Religion, &c. To which Information, the Petitioner upon his Oath under the hand of *Mr. Holt*, being then of his Counſell, (aſſigned by ſpeciall order from the ſaid Court,) did put in his anſwer; wherein hee alledged ſuch things onely, as his ſaid Counſell conceived to bee materiall, and pertinent for his juſt defence in publiſhing the ſaid Booke, but denyed all other matters in the ſaid Information contained; which Anſwer, being admitted and received in Court, the Petitioner (being then a cloſe priſoner) not onely attended the exhibiting of Interrogatories, according to the cuſtome of that Court, but withall, after ſome unuſuall delay, did write unto the Kings Attourney to haſten them: but before the examiner came, the petitioner heard that his ſaid anſwer was referred to Sir

John

John Bramſton, Knight, Lord chiefe Iuſtice of the Kings Bench, and Sir *John Finch*, then chiefe Iuſtice of the Common-pleas, and was by them wholy expunged as impertinent and Scandalous (ſave onely the not guiltie) And the petitioner underſtanding the anſwer hee was to make to the Interrogatories was to bee reckned as a part of his anſwer, admitted in Court, but afterwards expunged as impertinent and Scandalous (as aforeſaid:) ſo as if hee ſhould then have anſwered the Interrogatories, hee ſhould thereby have aſſented to the ſayd act of the ſayd Iudges, and ſo to the condemnation of his cauſe before the hearing, whereby he ſhould have contradicted his former Oath, that his ſaid Anſwer was a true Anſwer, and ſo ſhould juſtly have brought himſelfe under the guilt of wilfull perjury, and his cauſe under juſt ſentence. For that very reaſon he held himſelfe not bound, (as hee conceived) to anſwer the Interrogatories, for that his ſaid anſwer was ſo expunged, and the (*Not guilty*) as the foode ſo aked to the head without the maine body (and that in the Iudges owne words) as the Petitioner could not in any ſort take or acknowledge it now for other then the Iudges owne anſwer, as may appeare upon Record in the ſame Court.

Nevertheleſſe, the Court taking the ſame information *Pro confeſſo*, and refuſing to admit a copy of the Petitioners own true anſwer, as alſo of his reaſons of not anſwering the Interrogatories, (both which at his Cenſure he tendred to the Court, deſiring they might be then and there publikely read) the 14. of *Iune*, 13. *Caroli Regis*, proceeded to cenſure; whereby your Petitioner was cenſured *in a Fine of* 5000. *li. to his Majeſty, To be deprived of his Eccleſiaſticall Benefice, degraded from his Miniſteriall function and degrees in the Vniverſity, and ordered to be ſet on the Pillory, where both his eares were to be cut off, confined to perpetuall cloſe impriſonment in* Lancaſter *Caſtle, debarred the acceſſe of his wife or any other, to come to him, but onely his Keeper, and denyed the uſe of Penne, Inke, and paper.* All

which

which (except the Fine) was executed accordingly. And after his close imprisonment for twelve weekes in the common Goale in the said Castle, he was (by what extrajudiciall order he knowes not) transported by the conduct of one *Brian Burton* appointed by the High Sheriffe of *Lancaster*, (who used your Petitioner very basely and deceitfully, in that his transportation, which was in the Winter season through dangerous seas; to the apparent hazzard both of his health and life;) to the said Castle of *Garnsey*, where he hath remained a close prisoner and exile almost three whole yeares, his wife utterly prohibited, upon paine of imprisonment, to set her foote upon any part of the Iland, where she might but enquire how her husband did, contrary to the Lawes of God and the liberties of this Kingdome.

May it therefore please this Honorable House, to take the Petitioners sad cause into consideration, and for the better manifestation of his grievance in this cause, to assigne him for Counsell Master Serjeant *Atkins*, Ma. *Tomlins*, and Master *Gurdon*, to assist him in his cause; and to command, that hee may take out such copies *Gratis* out of the said severall Courts, as doe or may concerne his said cause.

And your Petitioner as in duty bound

shall daily pray for your prosperities.

HENRY BVRTON.

To

TO THE HONOVRABLE:

The Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the Commons House of *Parliament.*

The humble Petition of Iohn Bastwicke, Doctor in Physicke, lately retained close Prisoner and exile, in the *Iland* of *Sylly.*

Most humbly sheweth,

THat your Petitioner having about six yeares since set out a Booke in Latine, called *Elenchus Religionis Papistica*, with an Addition thereunto called *Flagellum Pontificis, & Episcoporum Latialium*, being thereunto provoked by one *Richard Short*, a Papist that maintained the Popes supremacy, the Masse, and Papall Religion; In which Booke your Petitioner, (for preventing all misinterpretations, of his pious, and good intentions therein) in his Epistle to the Reader, fully declared himselfe, that your Petitioner meant nothing against such Bishops, as acknowledged their Authority from Kings and Emperours, yet because your Petitioner (the better to shew the Papall usurpation over other Princes) therein, onely maintained by way of Argument (as other Orthodox writers of that Subject usually have done) a paritie of the said Bishop of *Rome* and all other Bishops and Presbyters,

by the word of God, denying his and their supremacy over other Ministers, to be by Divine institution.

Thereupon a Pursevant by Authority from the high Commission Court, came into your Petitioners house, at *Colchester* in *Essex*, in his absence; And the said Pursevant, assisted with the then Bayliffes and Constables of *Colchester* aforesaid, Ransacked his said house, together with his Chests and Truncks, and with great violence broke open your Petitioners Study, which was in his Apothecaries house; and tooke and carried away divers of your Petitioners Bookes, Writings, Letters, and what else the Pursevant pleased, without making restitution of them to your Petitioner.

And then your Petitioner was prosecuted in the High Commission Court, principally for his said Booke, where after a long and chargable prosecution, he was the 12. of *February* 1634. *fined* 1000 *li. to the King, excommunicated, debarred to practice Physicke, (the chiefest meanes of his lively-hood;) his said Bookes ordered to be burnt; That hee should pay costs of suit, and be imprisoned till he should make a Recantation*; the which heavy censure was onely for the said Booke, wherein your Petitioner maintained the prerogative of a King against the Papacy; Whereas one *Thomas Chowney* of *Sussex*, lately wrote a Booke in maintenance of the Papall Religion, and in defence of the Church of *Rome*, and averres it to be a true Church, the which Booke is dedicated to the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, and was and is patronized and defended by the said *Archbishop*, and the said *Chowney* never troubled for it. At which censure declared as aforesaid; all the Bishops that were then present, denyed openly, *that they held their jurisdiction from his Majesty; and affirmed, that they had it from God onely*; and the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, among many other Erroneous sayings, uttered by him; maintained the said *Chowneys* Booke, *and that the Church of Rome was a true Church, and that it erred not in fundamentals*:

and

and he, and other the ſaid Biſhops there, defamed the holy Scriptures, & abuſed reverend Maſter *Calvin*. In regard whereof, and for the vindicating of your Petitioners innocency in the matters for which hee was moſt unjuſtly cenſured, as aforeſaid, your Petitioner, publiſhed in Print, another Booke in Latine, intituled, *Apologeticus ad Præſules Anglicanos*, expreſſing the truth of the proceedings and ſpeeches at his ſaid cenſure. For which laſt mentioned Booke, and his Booke called the *Letany* (not then in Print) an information was exhibited againſt him and others in the Starre-chamber, to which your Petitioners anſwer being drawne and engroſſed, was onely ſubſcribed by himſelfe, becauſe he could get no counſell to ſet their hands to it; your Petitioner tendred the ſaid anſwer firſt at the Star-chamber Office, and after in open Court at the Star-chamber Bar, but it would not be accepted for want of Counſellors hands to it, contrary to former Preſidents. But the Court of Star-chamber tooke the ſaid information *Pro confeſſo*, and cenſured *Your Petitioner* 5000 *li. fine to the King, to ſtand in the Pillory, and to looſe both his eares, and to be cloſe priſoner in* Lanceſton caſtle in Cornewall: all which hath beene executed upon him with great extremity, to the perill of his life. After all which extremity, your Petitioner (by what order hee knoweth not, it being no part of his cenſure in Star-chamber) was tranſported from the ſaid Caſtle, *To the Iſland of Sylly*, a place ſo barren, that it affords not ordinary neceſſaries, where he hath beene in cloſe duration for three yeares or more, and not ſuffered to have any of his friends come at him, his very Wife being prohibited by the Lords of the Counſels order, under paine of impriſonment, not to ſet her foote upon any part of the Iſland, to enquire of his welfare. So that your Petitioner hath beene exiled from his wife and divers ſmall children 3. yeares and more, beſides the great ſtraights

and miseries which hee hath sustained, during the said time. All which is contrary to the Law of God and man, and the Liberties of a free Subject, and to the utter undoing of your Petitioner, his Wife and Children.

May it therefore please this Honourable Assembly, to take these pressing grievances of your Petitioner into your considerations, and to afford him such relieſe therein, as in your grave Wisedomes shall seeme consonant to Iustice and equity; and to assigne him for Counsell, Sergeant *Atkins*, Master *Ludlow*, Master *Tomlins*, Master *Gurdon*, and Master *Randall*, to assist him in this his complaint; and to order, that your Petitioner may take out *Gratis*, such copies of the said Censures, Warrants and Orders, and other the proceedings, in the said severall Courts, as shall or may any way concerne this his sad, yet most just complaint, with warrant from this Honorable house, to bring in his witnesse.

And your Petitioner as in duty bound,

shall ever pray for your prospereties.

IOHN BASTVVICK.

Dr. *Baſtwicks* Warrant, by reaſon of the difficulty of paſſage, had not the like expedition as his Brethrens; the Meſſenger who carried it, arriving not in *Silly* till the 21. of *November*; where the Dr. being imbarqued the 27. of that moneth in one of the Kings Whelpes, with Captaine *Baſſet*, (who conducted him & had uſed him but hardly) he landed at *Dover* the fourth of *December*, and lodged that night at *Canterbury*, the next day being *Saturday*, he lodged at *Graves-end*, where reſting the Lords day, his wife and children there met him, with divers of his friends; from whence he departing the Munday morning by land, was met and brought into *London* in like manner, and with like acclamations and teſtimonies of joy, and with almoſt as great a company as Mr. *Prynne* and Mr. *Burton* were, who both went preſently to his lodging to ſalute him, and ſupped with him at a friends houſe that ſame night.

Soone after, the Dr. appeared in and preſented his petition to the Commons houſe, who referred his Petition to be examined and heard by the ſame Committee as his Brethrens Petitions were: who hearing all their Petitions and cauſes in order as they were preferred, the whole Committee unanimouſly (without one negative voyce) voted all the proceedings and ſentences againſt them, both in the Star-chamber and High Commiſſion, to bee contrary to the Lawes and liberty of the Subject; the ſentences given againſt them to be reverſed, as illegall and groundleſſe; they to

be restored to their liberty, professions, degrees, and Mr. *Burton* to his Benefice in *Friday-streete*, and to receive reparations and dammages for their censures and imprisonments, from the Iudges that sentenced, and those who had done them wrong.

Dr. *Bastwicks* cause though last heard, being the shortest, was first reported to the Commons house by Mr. *Rigby*, Mr. *Burtons* next, and Mr. *Prynnes* (first heard) last, because longest, and having other causes (as his servants and the *Chester* mens) depending on it. Upon their reports, the whole house of Commons unanimiously voted all the censures, proceedings, and orders against them, to be illegall, &c. as will appeare by the Votes themselves, the true Copies whereof here next ensue.

The Votes and Resolutions of the Commons house in the case of Dr. *Bastwick.*

Mr. Rigby *reports from the Committee for the High Commission Court and Star-chamber, the case of* Dr. Bastwick. *Upon report, it was*

Resolved upon the Question,

That the precept made by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and other High Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall, within the Realme of *England*, for the apprehending of the Body of Dr. *Bastwick*, and for searching for and seizing of his bookes, and the making and issuing thereof, and likewise the Messengers act in searching

Dr.

Dr. *Bastwicks* House and Study, and searching and taking away of his bookes and papers, by that Precept, are against Law, and the libertie of the Subject.

Resolved upon the Question.

That the sentence given against Dr. *Bastwick* by the High Commissioners, and the proceeding whereupon that Sentence is grounded, and the execution of that sentence, are against Law; and that that Sentence is void, and that he ought to be restored to the exercise and practise of Phisicke. And that he ought to be discharged of his fine of 1000 li. and imprisonment, and to have reparations and recompence for his damage and losse susteyned by the foresaid proceeding, sentence and execution.

Resolved upon the Question,

That all those severall Commissioners of the High Commission Court, which voted against Dr. *Bastwick* in that Sentence pronounced against him, ought to give satisfaction to Dr. *Bastwick*.

Die Iovis 25. of Febru. 1640.

Mr. Rigby *proceeds in the Report of* Dr. Bastwicks *Case, and upon the Report, it was*

Resolved upon the Question,

That the proceedings against Dr. *Bastwick* in the Star-chamber, and the sentence of that Court against him, and the execution of that Sentence, are against the Law and libertie of the Subject; and that the Sentence ought to be reversed, and Dr. *Bastwick* discharged of the fine of 5000 li. and of his imprisonment, and to have reparations for the dammages susteyned by the foresaid proceedings, sentence and execution.

Resolved upon the Question.

That the Additionall Orders, and Warrants of the Councell Boord, concerning the Exile and transferring of Dr. *Bastwick* from the Castle of *Lancester* into the Isle of *Silly*, and his transferring thither, and his imprisonment there, are against the Law and libertie of the Subject,

ject, and that he ought to be discharged of that imprisonment, and to have reparation for his damages susteined thereby.

Present at the Sentence in the Star-chamber.

Lo. Keeper.	*E. of Dorset.*
Lo. Treasurer.	*E. of Bridgwater.*
Lo. Privy Seale.	*E. of Holland.*
L. Arch-B. of Canterbury.	*E. of Morton.*
L. Duke of Lenox.	*L. Vic. Wimbleton.*
L. Marquesse Hamelton.	*L. Cottington.*
Earle of Lindsey.	*L. Nuburgh.*
E. of Arundell and Surrey.	*S. Henry Vaine.*
E. of Pembrooke.	*S. Thomas Iermyn.*

Secretary Cooke, Secretary Windebanke, Lord chiefe Justice Brampston, L. chiefe Justice Finch.

At the Court at Oatlands August 27. 1637. Present, the *Kings most Excellent Majestie.*

L. Arch-B. of Canterbury.	*E. of Dorset.*
L. Keeper.	*E. of Holland.*
L. Treasurer.	*L. Vic. Wimbleton.*
L. Duke of Lenox.	*Mr. Controller.*
L. Mar. Hamelton.	*M. Secretary Cooke.*
E. Marshall.	*M. Secretary Windebanke.*

These were present at the making of the Order for the transferring of Dr. *Bastwick*, *Burton* and *Prynne* into Exile, into severall Isles, &c.

Die Iovis 25. *Febru.* 1640.

Ordered that the debate of Dr. *Bastwicks* businesse be resumed immediatly after the House shall returne from the Conference.

Die Martis primo Martij 1640.

Resolved upon the Question.

That the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and all those that voted against Dr. *Bastwick* in the Star-chamber shall make satisfaction to Dr. *Bastwick* for his damages sustayned by that Sentence.

Ordered,

Ordered, that it be referred to the Committee for the jurisdiction of the Star-chamber, to prepare a Bill, and to present it to this house, and therein to consider, how far the Heires and Executors of such as are, or have beene in judiciall or ministeriall places since 1. *Caroli*, or shall be hereafter, that have or shall doe wrong to the Common wealth by extortion, oppression, or injustice, shall be liable to make reparations to the parties grieved.

H. Elsynge Cler. domus Com.

The Votes and Resolutions of the Commons House in the Case of Mr. Burton.

Die Veneris 12. *Martij* 1640.

Mr. Rigby *reports from the Committee, for the Star-chamber, the Case of* Mr. Burton: *Upon this report, it was*

Resolved upon the Question.

1 That these foure Commissioners Dr. *Worall*, Dr. *Sammes*, Dr. *Ducke* and Dr. *Wood*, proceeded unjustly and illegally in suspending Mr. *Burton ab Officio & Beneficio*, for not appearing upon the Summons of the first Processe.

Resolved upon the Question.

2 That the breaking open of Mr. *Burtons* House, and arresting his person without any cause shewed, and before any sute depending against him in the Star-chamber, and his close imprisonment thereupon, are against the Law and liberty of the Subject.

Resolved on the Question.

3 That *John Wragge* hath offended in searching and seising the Bookes and Papers of Mr. *Henry* Burton, by colour of the generall Warrant dormant from the High Commissioners, and that that Warrant is against the Law and libertie of the subject, and that Sergeant *Dendy* and Alderman *Abel* have offended in breaking open the house of Mr. *Burton*.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

4 That Mr. *Burton* ought to have reparations and recompence for the damages ſuſtained by the foreſaid proceedings.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

5 That Dr. *Sammes*, Dr. *Ducke*, and Dr *Wood*, who ſuſpended Mr. *Burton Ab officio & Beneficio*, for not appearing upon the Summons of the firſt Proceſſe, ought to make reparations unto the ſaid Mr. *Burton*, for his loſſes and dammages ſuſteyned by that ſuſpenſion.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

6 That Sergeant *Dendy* and Alderman *Abell*, ought to make reparations to Mr. *Burton*, for the damage he ſuſteyned by the breaking open his houſe without any legall Warrant.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

7 That *John Wragge* ought to make reparations to Mr. *Burton*, for the damage he ſuſteyned by the breaking open his ſtudy and ſeizing his Bookes and Papers.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

8 That the Warrant from the Councell Boord dated at White Hall Feb. 2. 1636. for the committing of Mr. *Burton* cloſe priſoner, and the commitment thereupon, is illegall and contrary to the liberty of the Subject.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

9 That Mr. *Burton* ought to have reparations for his dammages ſuſteyned by this Impriſonment.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

10 That the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* the Biſhop of *London*, the Earle of *Arundell* and *Surry*, the Earle of *Pembrooke* and *Montgomery*, Sir *H. Vaine* and Sir *I. Cooke* and Sir *Francis Windebanke* doe make reparations to Mr. *Burton* for his dammages ſuſteyned by this impriſonment.

Die Mercurij 24. Martij 1640.

Mr. Rigby *goes on in the Report of* Mr. Burtons *Caſe: Upon the report, it was,*

Reſol-

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

1 That the Sentence in the Star-chamber againſt *Mr. Burton* is illegall, and without any juſt ground, and ought to be reverſed, and that he ought to be freed from the fine of 5000 li. and the impriſonment impoſed by that Sentence.

2 That Mr. *Burton* ought to be reſtored to his degrees taken in the Vniverſitie, & Orders in the Miniſtery, and to his Eccleſiaſticall benefice in *Friday-ſtreet London*.

3 That the order of the Councell Boord for transferring of Mr. *Burton* from the Caſtle of *Lancaſter* to the Iſle of *Geruſey*, and the impriſonment of him there, are againſt Law, and the liberty of the Subject.

4 That Mr. *Burton* ought to have reparation and recompence for the dammages ſuſteyned by his ſaid impriſonment, loſſe of Eares, exile and other evils ſuſtained by him by the ſaid unjuſt and illegall proceedings.

H. Elſynge Cler. Domus Com.

The Votes and Reſolutions of the Commons *houſe in the Caſe of* Mr. *Prynne.*

Die Martis 20. *April.* 1641.

Mr. Rigby *this day revived the Report of* Mr. Prynnes *Caſe, and thereupon* It was ordered and reſolved upon the Queſtion by the houſe, as followeth.

1 That the Sentence given againſt Mr. *Prynne* in the Star-chamber 17. *Februar. An* 9. *Caroli* is illegall, and given without any juſt cauſe, and ought to be reverſed. And that Mr. *Prynne* ought to be diſcharged of the fine of 5000 li. impoſed by the ſaid Sentence, and of all extents thereupon and of the Impriſonment decreed by that ſentence. Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

2 That Mr. *Prynne* ought to be reſtored to his degree in the Vniverſity of *Oxon*, and to the ſociety of *Lincolnes Inne*, and to the exerciſe of his profeſſion of an *Vtter Bar-*

reſter at Law, and to his Chamber againe at *Lincolnes Inne*.

3 That Mr. *Prynne* ought to have reparation for ſuch dammages and prejuduce as he hath ſuſteyned by the ſaid ſentence and proceedings.

4 That the ſentence given againſt Mr. *Prynne* in the Star-chamber 14. *Iunij* 1637. *Anno* 13. *Caroli*, is illegall, and given without any juſt cauſe or ground, and therefore ought to be reverſed, and that he ought to bee diſcharged of the fine & impriſonment thereby decreed; and that he ought to have reparation and recompence for the dammages which he hath ſuſteyned by that ſentence and the Execution thereof.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

5 That the Warrant dated the 27. of Auguſt 13. *Caroli*, made for the tranſportation of Mr. *Prynne* from *Carnarvan* Caſtle, to the Iſle of *Ierſey*, and his impriſonment there, and other reſtraints therein mentioned, are againſt the Law and liberty of the ſubject, and that he ought to be diſcharged of that Impriſonment, and to have reparations for his dammages ſuſteyned thereby.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

6 That the impriſonment of Mr. *Prynne* by a Warrant dated the firſt of *February* 1632. under the hands of *Thomas* Lord *Coventrie*, Lord Keeper of the great Seale, *Richard* Lord Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, *Henry* Earle of *Mancheſter*, *Edward* Earle of *Dorſet*, *Henry* Lord *Viſcount Falkland*,* *William* Lord Biſhop of *London*, *Edward* Lord *Nuburge*, Sir *John Coke*, Sir *Francis Windebanke* and Sir *Thomas Iermyn*, is unjuſt and illegall, and that they ought to give Mr. *Prynne* ſatisfaction for the dammages ſuſteyned by that impriſonment.

* Now *Canterbury*.

It is this day likewiſe ordered, that Mr. *Rigby* ſhall tranſmit the charge againſt Dr. *Heylin* touching the promoting the ſuite in Star-chamber againſt Mr. *Prynne*, to the Committee for Religion, to be conſidered of together with thoſe other charges and complaints that are

Come

Come in to that, or any other Committee against him.

It is this day likewise ordered that the parties that ought to make satisfaction and reparation to Mr. *Burton* and Mr. *Prynne* for the dammages susteyned by severall Orders, Warrants and Sentences in the Star-chamber and else-where, shall be considered of when the transmission of these causes shall be brought into the House, and the Committee is to prepare the Transmission of these causes; And it is likewise ordered, that there shall be a stay of all proceedings in the Exchequer for the Leavying of the severall Fines of Dr. *Bastwicke* Mr. *Burton* and Mr. *Prynne*, till this House shall take further order therein.

H. Elsynge Cler. domus Com.

Thus hath the Lord now at last after a wonderfull manner,[a] *beyond all that men could hope or thinke*, raised up these his [b] dead forlorne exild servants (as he did [c] *Daniel out of the Lions Den, Ionah out of the Whales belly, Lazarus out of the grave, Ioseph out of his Prison, and the three children out of the fiery Furnace*) out of their close Prisons, wherein they lay long buried in obscurity and oblivion, [d] *turned againe their captivity as the rivers in the South*; [e] *brought forth their righteousnesse as the light, and their judgement as the noone day*; *and turned their teary*, yea and bloody *seede time, into a blessed harvest of joy and triumph*; so as they may now truly sing (in respect of their owne and their proud Arch-enemies and persecutors present condition) as Gods redeemed and exalted people did of old. *Psalme Chap.* 20. *Vers.* 8. *They are brought downe and fallen, but wee are risen and stand upright. Now* [f] *blessed be the* Lord God, the God of *Israel who onely doth these wondrous things. And blessed be his glorious name for ever (for thus his incomparable mercy to these and other his oppressed servants) and let the whole earth be filled with his glory* (in this nature, every day more & more) *Amen* and *Amen.*

[a] Ephes. 3. 20.
[b] Psal. 31. 12. Psal. 88. 4. to 9.
[c] Danel Ch. 8. Ionah ch. 1. and 2. Ioh. 11. Gen. ch. 41. and 42. Daniel 3.
[d] Psal. 126. 1. to 5.
[e] Psal. 37. 5. 6.
[f] Psal. 72. 18. 19.

After these Votes the house of Commons, before any

transmission of these causes to the Lords, hindred by other great affaires; upon a motion in *Mr. Prynnes* behalfe, by Sir *Benjamin Rudgier*, made this Order for his restitution to *Lincolnes Inne* and his Chamber there.

Die Iovis 20. *May* 1641.

It is this day ordered by the Commons house of Parliament, that the Benchers of Lincolnes Inne, *shall forthwith restore* Mr. Prynne *to his former condition in that society, according to his antiquity, and to his chamber there.*

Hen. Elsinge Clericus Dom. Com.

The reason they made this Order before any transmission was, because they adjudged his disbarring and expulsion thence, not onely *voydable*, but *meerely voyd in Law*: he being charged with no offence against his profession, or that Societie, and because the losse of his Chamber was no part, but onely a consequent of his censure.

The *Benchers of Lincolnes Inne* upon receit of this Order, at their next counsell there held, made this ensuing Order for Mr. *Prynnes* restitution, both to their Society and his Chamber there.

Lincolnes Inne,

Ad Consilium ibidem tentum vicessimo quinto die Maij, Anno Regni Regis Caroli nunc Angliæ, &c. Decimo septimo, 1641.

Whereas by an Order of the Commons house of Parliament the 20. *day of May* 1641. *it was ordered, that the Benchers of this house should forthwith restore* Mr. William Prynne *to his former condition in this Society, according to his antiquitie and to his Chamber there, as in and by the sayd Order (whereunto relation being had) appeareth. It is now therefore in due performance of the said Order, ordered, that the said* Mr. Prynne *shall be forthwith restored to his former condition in this house according to his Antiquity, and to his Chamber there: and he is hereby, and by the Benchers of this house* nullo contradicente, *fully and cleerely declared to be accordingly restored.*

Io. Clerke D.C.N.L.

Thus

Thus Mr. *Prynne* expelled that ſociety by an Order of Star-chamber on the 24. of *Aprill* in Eaſter Terme 10. *Caroli*, was now reſtored thereunto in the ſame Terme, 25 of *May* 17. *Caroli*, by order from the Parliament.

So Mr. *Burton* on the ſame Moneth (of *Iune*) he was deprived of his Miniſtery, and living, and upon a motion in the Commons houſe, had this Order of reſtitution.

Die Martis 8. *Iunij*, 1641.

The houſe of Commons doth this day declare and hold fit, that Mr. Henry Burton *ſhall be reſtored to his former liberty of Preaching.* H. Elſing Cler. Dom. Com.

Since theſe Reports and Votes were made in the Commons houſe, the tranſmiſsions of them to the Lords houſe are prepared, whither they will be ſent with all convenient expedition; where I doubt not but theſe oppreſſed Exiles, ſhall in due time receive a juſt, honorable and compleat acquitall, from all their illegall cenſures, reſtitution to their livings and eſtates, with ſuch damages & reparations as ſhall counterpoiſe all their loſſes and defamations, crowne all their ſufferings with immortall honour, and cauſe them experimentally to conclude with the Apoſtles determination (a moſt comfortable cordiall in all tribulations) 2 *Cor.* 4. 17 *Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a farre more exceeding and eternall weight of glory.*

I ſhall cloſe up this late tragicall Hiſtory (concluding in a joyfull Commedy) which Mr. *Prynnes* Argument and reaſons tendred to the Committee; wherein hee proved all the ſeverall parts of the cenſures and proceedings againſt himſelfe (and by conſequence againſt his fellow brethren in ſuffering) to be illegall, and contrary to the liberty of the ſubject, in point of Law. A true Coppy whereof comming to my hands, I ſhall (I truſt without offence) communicate to others for the publike good; the rather, becauſe the points therein debated, concerne the common liberty of the ſubject, and are not formerly ſo fully diſcuſſed, for ought I can learne, in any printed Booke.

Mr.

Mr. PRYNNES REASONS TENDRED To the Committee,

Proving the illegality of both his Cenſures in the Star-chamber, in all the ſeverall branches thereof; together with

the unlawfulneſſe of the Orders ſince made for his exile and cloſe impriſonment in the Iſle of Ierſey; and of the proceedings againſt him, and his friends that viſited him at Cheſter, in the High Commiſſion at Yorke.

Mr. Prynnes firſt Cenſure and Execution.

HE was fined (for a Booke called *Hiſtrio-Maſtix*, licenced by authority) 5000 li. to the King, expelled the Vniverſity of *Oxford* and *Lincolnes Inne*; degraded, put from his profeſſion of the Law, ſet on the Pillory in the Pallace-yard at *Weſtminſter* for two houres ſpace, with a Paper in his hat, where he loſt one of his Eares (on *Wedneſday*, *May* the ſeventh 1634.) and three dayes after on the Pillory in Cheapſide as long, where he loſt the other Eare, and had his ſaid licenſed Bookes there publikely burnt before his face by the Hangman, and was further adjudged to remaine a priſoner during life.

Mr.

Mr. Prynnes ſecond Cenſure and Execution.

HE was for default of an anſwer (*though two anſwers were tendred by him, one ſigned with his owne, the other with his Councels hand*) taken *Pro confeſſo*, fined 5000 li. to the King, pillored, ſtigmatized on both Cheekes, mutilated, and diſmembred of the ſmall remainder of his Eares left after his firſt execution, adjudged to perpetuall cloſe impriſonment in the Goale of *Carnarvan* Caſtle in *North-Wales*, and then by an extrajudiciall order deprived the uſe of Pen, Inke, Paper and all Bookes but the Bible, and ſome few others of private devotion. After that (by a like Order) exiled and ſent cloſe priſoner (in the Winter ſeaſon into the Iſle of *Jerſy*, where hee was kept cloſe priſoner without Pen, Inke, or Paper to write for neceſſaries; his friends and kindered debarred all acceſſe to him, and all their letters intercepted, by ſpeciall order from the Lords. After which, his friends of *Cheſter* were cenſured in the High-Commiſſion at *Yorke*, for viſiting him at his Inne in his paſſage to *Carnarvan*, and his Pictures by their Order, publikely burnt there, at the High-Croſſe. 2. *Cenſure.*

That the two fines of 5000. *pound a peece, are againſt Law.* 1. *Point.*

The Statute of *Magna Charta Chap.* 14. enacts, *That a freeman ſhall not be amerced for a ſmall fact, but after the quantity of the fault, and for a great fault after the manner thereof, ſaving to him his contenement or freehold: And a Merchant likewiſe ſhall bee amerced ſaving to him his Merchandiſe, &c. Weſt. 2. 3. Ed. 1. c. 6.* concurres herewith. And if any man be *immoderately amerced* in any inferiour Courts, the Law provides a writ of * *Moderata Miſericordia*, for his reliefe, grounded on this ſtatute of *Magna Charta*. 1.

* *Fitzh. Nat. Brevium f. 75. 76.*

The ground of theſe Acts and writ was this, where-

ever the Law for any offence (as for Treason or Felony) takes away a mans life, there *it forfeits* * *all his Lands and Goods*; because the life being taken away, there needs no lands or goods to support it. But where the offence is not capitall, to take away mens lives, there the Law for the most part (except in some speciall cases by provision of Parliament) imposeth onely such a fine and moderate amercement, as shall not swallow up all their estates, but leave them a *competency*, both to * *maintaine their not forfeited Lives*, and support them in their callings for the publike good; which else might suffer by their losse of trade and imployment, in which the Common wealth hath interesse, yea and the King himselfe, *Eccles* 5.3.

* See *Brooke* and *Fitzh.* Forfeiture and Corone.

* See 13. Ed 1. *Rastal Recognisans* 2. and here in the 8. point.

Since then these two fines of 5000 li. a peece exceede my offences and State, and are directly contrary to these two Acts, they must be altogether illegall.

2. Point of the Censure.

2. *That my Disfranchisment out of the Vniversity and Innes of Court is against Law.*

Co. 11. Report f 97 98, 99 *Iames Baggs* case, Trin. 13. Iac. It was resolved *First, that the cause of a Disfranchisment ought to be founded upon an Act, which is against the duty of a Citizen or Burgesse, to the prejudice of the common good of the towne or Burrough whereof he is a member, and against the oath he tooke when he was made a freeman. That words of contempt contrary to good manners against the chiefe Officers of the Citie, are good cause of commitment, but not of Disfranchisment.*

But there are no words charged upon me in the information against the *Vniversity of Oxford* or *Innes of Court*, which Vniversitie I had above 12. yeares before deserted. Therefore no ground of a disfranchisment.

2.

Secondly, That every freeman of a Citie or Burrough, hath a Franke-tenement in his freedome during life, and it concernes his trade and livelihood, credit and estimation; therefore the cause of his Disfranchisment ought to be some Act or deede executed, to the prejudice of the City or Towne, and not an intention or enterprise from whence no prejudice doth ensue.

Here

Here was no ſuch prejudiciall act to the Vniverſity, or Innes of Court done by me, therefore no ground of any disfranchiſment.

Thirdly, That no freeman of any Corporation can be diſfranchiſed by the corporation, unleſſe they have authority to doe it by expreſſe words in their Charter, or by preſcription, and then, per legem terræ, *by a legall tryall according to Law, and by the lawfull judgement of his Peeres: Magna Charta c. 29.* 3.

But the Star-chamber hath no ſuch power by any expreſſe act or Law, to disfranchiſe men, not yet any ſuch preſcription, neyther did they proceede againſt me by a legall tryall.

Fourthly, That the returne of the cauſe of disfranchiſment ought to be certaine, ſo that ſufficient matter may appeare to the Court to disfranchiſe the party. 4.

But here no ſuch cauſe appeareth on record. Therefore this disfranchiſment is voyd and illegall. A husband cannot be divorced from his wife, but for ſome offence againſt his wife as an husband; nor I from my wedded profeſſion but for ſome miſdemenour againſt it, or in it as a Lawyer, of which I was never guilty, nor accuſed. In Mr. *Shervils* Caſe in Star-chamber, not a yeare before my firſt cenſure, when the *Lord Cottington* (who began that ſentence) would have put him from the barre, for breaking ſome pictures in a Church window at *Saliſbury*, the Iudges, and Court reſolved, *that it was both againſt Law and the courſe of that Court, to put any man from his calling, unleſſe it were for ſome miſdemeanors complained off, wherein he had abuſed his profeſſion; and this Act of his being done as a private man, and not as a Lawyer, could breed no cauſe to put him from the Barre,* and ſo he ſtill continued his practiſe and profeſſion. The ſame reaſon is in my Caſe, this licenſed Booke being written by me, not as a *Lawyer*, but as a *Scholler*, and having no relation to my profeſſion, can bee no cauſe of my disfranchiſment from *Lincolnes Inne*, or from my calling.

The pretence for this disfranchisment was, *to save the honour of the Universitie and Innes of Court*; and so it is expressed in the order or Act of my degradation, in the Vniversity of *Oxford*.

But in truth this is but a cloake of maliciousnesse; for many Schollers of *Oxford*, some Innes of Court men, and Ministers have *beene hanged* and *executed* for *Felony* and *Murther*, without any scandall or blemish to the Vniversitie or Innes of Court, though no expulsion or degradation preceeded or followed it. And this ceremony seemes to be borrowed onely from the persecuting prelates in former times, *who used to degrade and deprive godly Ministers of their orders before they burnt them*, as appeares by sundry *Presidents* in the Booke of * *Martyrs*, yet never degraded, nor expelled they the Vniversity or Innes of Court, any that were martyred, for ought I can find.

* See the old edition f. 362. 419 1100. 1374. 1491. to 1497.

As for the *disbarring* and *putting me* from my calling (which is my freehold) it is against the Law of God; *which* * *commands every man diligently to labour and continue in his calling*; against the *common Law* of the Land, *which adjudgeth a Bond or Covenant not to exercise ones calling, to be meerely void and quite against Law*, Cooke 8. Report f. 125. & 11. R. f. 53. Against the Law of Nature *which enjoynes all men to labour in their calling* (especially when other meanes faile) and thereby to provide for themselves and their families, *Gen.* 3. 19. *Psal.* 128. 2. *Prov.* 31. 27. 1 *Tim.* 5. 8. And against the *policy of the Kingdome*, which * *hates idlenesse, incourageth industry, and will not willingly suffer any to live without a lawfull calling and imployment*, which God condemnes, *Matth.* 20. 3. 6. *Ezek.* 16. 49. 1 *Tim.* 5. 13. 2 *Thes.* 3. 11. 12. *Eccles.* 10. 18. *Prov.* 13. 11.

* Gen 3. 19. ch. 2. 15. Exod. 20. 9. ch. 23. 12. Deut. 5. 13. Luk. 13. 14. Psal. 128. 2. 1 Cor. 4. 12. Ephe. 4. 28. 1 Cor. 7. 10. 21. Rom. 12. 6. to 12. 2 Thes. 3. 8. 10. 11. 12.

* See *Rastal.* Labourers and Vagabonds. Pro. 24. 23. ch. 21. 25.

3. *Point:* *That the dismembring and cutting off my Eares, is against Law.*

By the common Law of the Land a man should lose his

his eares in no caſe that I know of, nor any member elſe but *onely his* * *hand, and that in caſe of ſtriking and blood-ſhed, either in the Kings owne Palace, or of a Iudge, Iuror, or ſome other in the face of the Kings Courts ſitting, (the Iudges therein repreſenting the Kings owne perſon)* as appeares by 22. *Ed.* 3. 19. *Fitz. Iudgement* 9. 41. *Aſſ.* 25. 33. *Hen.* 8. *c.* 12. *Brooke Pain* 16. 41. *Ed.* 3. *Corone* 80. *Dyer.* 188. And in *Holinſheed f.* 290. I read, *that in the* 22. *yeare of Edward the firſt, three men for reſcuing a Priſoner from one* Richard Ragly, *had their hands ſtrucke off in Weſt. Cheape.*

* See *Holinſheed* p. 953. *Edmund Knivets Caſe.*

The Subjects *members* as well as their *Lives*, and goods are ſecured by ſundry Statutes and fundamentall Lawes of the Realme.

The Statute of 5. Ed. 3. c. 9. enacts, *That no man from henceforth ſhall be attached by any accuſation, nor forejudged of Life, nor Limbe, &c. againſt the great Charter and Law of the Land.* By 25. Ed. 3. c. 4. and the *Petition of Right*, 3. Car. *No man ſhall be forejudged of Life or Limbe, againſt the forme of the great Charter, and Law of the Land, nor any taken by Petition or ſuggeſtion made to the King, or his Counſell, unleſſe it be by inditement or preſentment of his good and Lawfull neighbours or by Proceſs made by Writ Originall at the common-Law; Nor that none bee outed of his franchiſes, nor of his freeholds, unleſſe he be duely brought in to anſwer, and forejudged of the ſame by the way of Law. And if any thing be done againſt the ſame it ſhall be redreſſed, and holden for none.*

But my diſmembring was not by *the way of Law*, and is againſt all theſe Acts; therefore voyd, and illegall.

By the Statute of 1. and 2. Mariæ, c. 3. it was enacted, *That the ſpreader abroad of diverſe and ſundry falſe ſeditious and ſcandalous Newes, rumours, ſayings, and talkes againſt our moſt dread Soveraigne Lord and King, and Lady and Queene Mary, to the great diſhonour, reproach and ſlander of their moſt excellent Majeſties, and alſo the great ſlander of this their Realme, ſhall for his firſt offence, being thereof lawfully con-*

convicted, within three Moneths ſpace next after the offence committed by verdict upon an inditement, be ſet openly upon the Pillory, and there to have both his eares cut off, unleſſe he pay 100 *li. to the King and Queenes uſe, within one Moneth next after the judgement given of his ſayd offence, and alſo ſhall ſuffer impriſonment for three Moneths ſpace next after ſuch his execution.*

And by this Act, *He that ſpeaketh ſuch Newes maliciouſly of anothers report, ſhall be ſet upon the Pillory, and have one of his Eares cut off, unleſſe he pay an* 100. *markes to the Kings and Queenes uſe within one moneth next after the judgment, and ſhall ſuffer one moneths impriſonment onely after ſuch execution.* And both theſe *for their ſecond offence, upon conviction, ſhall ſuffer impriſonment during their Lives, without baile or mainpriſe, and forfeit all their goods and Chattels.*

From which Act I ſhall obſerve theſe particulars.

1. Firſt, that before this Act, as appeares by the *preamble*, and firſt part thereof; the ſpreaders abroad of falſe, ſeditious and ſcandalous Newes and Libells, though againſt the King and Queene themſelves, were not puniſhable with the Pillory and loſſe of Eares; which was the cauſe of making this Law.

Indeed I find,* *that on July the* 11. 1553. *when the Lady Iane was proclaimed Queene, after King Edwards death, one* Gilbert Pot, *drawer to* Ninion Saunders *a Vintner, dwelling at* St. Iohns *head within Ludgate, being accuſed by his* Mr. *was ſet upon the Pillory in Cheapſide, and had both his Eares nayled and cleane cut off, for words ſpoken at the time of the Proclamation of the Lady-Iane to be Queene. At the which execution was a trumpet blowne, and a Herald read his offence before one of the Sheriffes*; which is the onely preſident I find, of loſſe of Eares. But by what Law this was done I cannot finde; however, it was not by any ſentence in Star-chamber; it was for words againſt a Queene, when ſhe was proclaimed: and the Hiſtorians notes, that the Informer *Ninion* ſhooting the Bridge, was

* Holinſhed, p. 1084. b. and Stow. p. 619.

was drowned the very ſame day of this unjuſt execution. And it is probable that this execution then done againſt Law, and ſo reputed, was the ground of making this Act, and authorizing this puniſhment in caſe of ſcandalous words againſt Queene *Mary*, ſince this Law was made the very next yeare after.

But there is no ſuch Law for any pretended ſlanderous Libells againſt the Biſhops onely; who are neither King nor Queene, and yet in my Cenſure are preferred farre above both.

Secondly, that this penalty could not be inflicted even by this *Act, unleſſe the party offending were convicted thereof within three Moneths ſpace next after the offence committed:* whence 5. and 6. *Phil.* and *Mary*, *Dyer* 155. *a* and *Cromptons Iuriſdiction*, f. 35. *b. It was reſolved in* Odnolds Caſe, *Yeoman of the Guard, who ſpake horrible and ſlanderous words againſt Queene Mary, that after three moneths exſpired, he could not be proceeded againſt upon this Statute, but onely be indicted and impriſoned at the will of the Queen, according to the Statute of Weſt.* 1. *c.* 34. Which reſolution likewiſe proves, that before this Law, there was no loſſe of Eares for any Libelling and falſe Newes, though againſt the King and Queene. 3

But here there was no proceedings againſt me within three moneths after the ſuppoſed offences; neither am I charged for any offence within this Act, which is expired.

This Statute, even in theſe *bloody Marian dayes*, for this great offence of ſcandalous and ſeditious libells againſt King and Queene, preſcribes not ſimply the loſſe of both Eares, but gives the delinquent *power to redeeme the loſſe of them within three moneths next after the Sentence given, and that with the payment onely of one hundred pound to the King and Queenes* uſe. 3

But my Eares are ſimply and abſolutely adjudged to be cut off, without any power of redeeming them at any rate, within any ſpace of time.

The

4. The losse of both Eares with a power of redeeming them for an 100. pound, was not by this Act accompanied or aggravated with any fine.

But my double losse of both Eares, is aggravated with the fine of 5000 li. doubled upon me, which is nigh 99. times more, then the summe here prescribed for their redemption.

5. This Act prescribes the Eares to be lost but once, and one single standing on one Pillory; but my Eares must twice be cut off, and I set on severall Pillories, at severall times and in divers places, to lose them.

6. Here is onely three Moneths imprisonment enjoyned to the delinquent, and that at large, not close.

I must be adjudged to perpetuall close imprisonment, and that in remote Castles, where none were ever sent from this Court before.

7. Here the conviction must be by inditement, verdict and lawfull witnesses, or voluntary confession at least.

Mine was upon an information taken *pro confesso*, for want of an answer, when I tendred two, and neither would be accepted; and that without any legall conviction, voluntary confession, or any one witnesse produced or examined.

8. The second offence within this Act was onely *perpetuall imprisonment*, and that not close, nor in remote Castles and Islands.

But I was adjudged to perpetuall close imprisonment in remote Castles and Isles, all accesse of Friends, Letters, and the use of Pen, Inke and Bookes being debarred from me too.

In all which respects, my Censure for a pretended offence against some Prelates, doth farre transcend the penalties imposed against Libellous delinquents of the highest nature in *Queene Maries* dayes, against the King and Queene themselves.

On this Statute, in Queene *Maries* raigne, I read onely of two judgements, and executions. The one, against *Eliza*.

* *Elizabeth Driver of Grousborrough in Suffolke*, who, *for likening Queene* Mary *to Iezabell in her persecution, and so in that sence calling her* Iezabell, *was for this indited before* Sr. Clement Higham *the chiefe Judge at the Assises at* Derry; *who adjudged her Eares immediatly to be cut off*, (contrary to the Provision of this Act) *which was accomplished accordingly; she joyfully yeelding herselfe to the punishment, and thought her selfe happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the name of Christ; for whom she was soone after martyred at a stake.* The other judgement and execution was against one *Trew* in *Kent*, who *pursued by one* Sir Edward Gage, *was at last brought to his house and there layd in a dungeon; from thence had to the next Market Towne, and was set on the Pillory, and there lost both his Eares* (by colour of this Law) *for disswading, not to come to Church to heare Masse.* These proceedings are taxed as *tyrannous and illegall* by Mr. *Fox*; therefore no good presidents to ground any like Sentence upon, especially in my cause, which is cleane out of the limits and intent, of this long since expired Act.

* *Fox Act and Monuments* p. 1670. 1682. in the old Edition.

This Statute being but temporall, *during the Queenes owne life*, it was after enacted by the *Statute of* 23. *Eliz. c.* 2. *That they who shall advisedly with a malicious intent, of his or their owne imagination utter any false, seditious and scandalous newes, rumors or sayings against the Queenes Majesty, being thereof lawfully convicted by the testimony, deposition and oathes of two sufficient witnesses, at the time of his inditement and arraignement, which witnesses shall then be brought face to face before the partie so arraigned, and there shall openly declare all that they can say against the sayd party indited, unlesse he shall willingly and without violence confesse the same* (*without which testimony or confession* there is an expresse *Proviso* in the Act, *that no person shall be indicted or arraigned for any offence in this Act mentioned*) *shall be set openly on the Pillory, & there to have both his Eares cut off, or at the offenders election to pay* 200 *li. into the Exchequer to the Queenes use, within two moneths next after the*

judgement against him; and also shall suffer imprisonment for the space of six Moneths next after his said conviction without baile and mainpraise.

And he that shall advisedly and maliciously report any such Newes from the reporting of any other, shall be set on the Pillory and there have one of his Eares cut off, unlesse hee pay 200. markes to the Queene within two Moneths next after the judgement given, and shall suffer imprisonment by the space of three Moneths after his conviction without baile. From this act I observe.

1. First, that there was no losse of Eares for libelling against *Queene Elizabeth*, before this Act made, that of *Queene Mary* being expired with her.

2. Secondly, That the delinquent had *here a power to redeeme his Eares, paying onely 200 li. to the Queenes use within two moneths after the judgement.*

3. Thirdly, no fine attended the losse of both Eares, and the summe onely of 200 li. paid within two moneths, at the parties election, might redeeme their losse.

4. Fourthly, the party was to be imprisoned onely six Moneths, and that in an ordinary usuall prison, not adjudged to perpetuall close imprisonment and exile in remote Castles and Islands.

5. Fiftly, this Act expressely provides, that no man should be punished *but by inditement, nor convicted, but by his owne voluntary confession, or the Oathes of two sufficient witnesses brought face to face before the delinquent, at his arraignment.*

When as in my Case there was neither voluntary confession, nor proofe, nor witnesse brought face to face.

6. Sixtly, this Act was personall, relating onely to *Queen Elizabeth* and expiring at her death.

All these particulars applyed to my Case, prove my Censure both unjust and illegall.

By 5. Eliz. c. 9. *The procurers and suborners of wilfull perjury* (a grand offence) *are onely to forfeit 40 li. a peece. And if they have not goods, Chattels, or Lands to the value*

of

of 40 li. then they are to ſtand on the Pillory openly in ſome Market Towne for one houres ſpace, and to ſuffer one whole yeares impriſonment without baile, and the party corruptly and wilfully perjured, ſhall loſe but 20 li. and ſuffer ſix moneths impriſonment. And if he have not goods or Lands to the value of 20 li. then he ſhall be ſet on the Pillory in ſome market place, and have his Eares nailed. Whence obſerve.

Note:

Firſt, that this *nayling of the Eares* for perjury, is onely by vertue of this Act, not by the common Law. 1.

Secondly, In caſe of poore Raſcall people, not worth 20 li. in Lands, goods and Chattels, and no others. 2.

Thirdly, That this muſt be by *indictement in the Kings Bench*, and ſuch like Courts; not by information in Star-chamber, which cannot puniſh perjury in any other manner, but as it might before this Act; as is cleare *by the laſt proviſo*, and *reſolved in Dyer* f. 242. 243. 3.

If then the Star-chamber cannot naile mens Eares for perjury, how can they cut them off for leſſer offences?

By 5. Eliz. c. 14. *The forger, maker and publiſher of falſe deedes, being thereof convicted by an Action at Common Law, Indictement, Bill or information in the Star-chamber, ſhall pay double coſts and damages to the party, be ſet on the Pillory in ſome open Market towne, and there have both his Eares cut off, his noſtrils ſlit, cut, and ſeared with an hot Iron, to remaine as a perpetuall note of his falſehood, and ſhall forfeit the whole iſſues of his Lands and tenements during life, and ſuffer perpetuall impriſonment during Life.* And in other Caſes of *forgery* by that Act, he *ſhall pay double coſts and dammages, be ſet on the Pillory, have one eare cut off, and ſuffer one yeares impriſonment without baile.*

Note,

Yet note that theſe penalties are inflicted. First by an expreſſe Act. 1.

Secondly in caſe of forgery of falſe deeds onely. 2.

Thirdly that this Act inables any Court where the offendour ſhall bee convicted to inflict this puniſhment, and the Star-chamber by name, which elſe had had no power to impoſe ſuch a Cenſure. 3.

By the Act of 14. Eliz. c. 5. *Such a vagabond Rogue as shall be duely convicted of his Roguish and vagabond life, by the Oathes of two sufficient witnesses, or by inquest of office, shall be grievously whipped, and* * *burnt through the gristle of their right Eare with an hot Iron, of the compasse of one inch about, manifesting his Roguish kind of life, and his punishment received for the same; which shall presently be executed on him, unlesse some Subsidie man or house-houlder of honest condition; shall take him into service for one yeares space, and if hee depart from his service within that time without his Masters consent, then the sayd penalty to bee executed on him.*

* See Holinshead p. 1128.

If vagabond Rogues shall not have their Eares thus boared, but by lawfull conviction by the Oathes of *two sufficient witnesses*, and by authority of an expresse Act of Parliament, and that not absolutely but with limitation; much lesse shall mens Eares of better qualitie, be boared and cut off, without authoritie of Parliament, or the Oath of any one witnesse to convict them.

The Statute of 5. Ed. 6. c. 4. Enacts, *that if any person strike with any weapon in any Church or Churchyard, being thereof convicted, by verdict of 12. men, or by his owne confession, or by two lawfull witnesses before the Iustices of Assises, Iustices of Oyer and Terminer, or Iustices of peace in their Sessions, by force of this Act, shall bee adjudged by the same Iustices before whom such persons shall bee so convicted, to have one of his Eares cut of. And if the person so offending have no Eares, that then he be branded in the Cheeke with an hot Iron, having this Letter,* F.

Note,
1. But First, this is by speciall Act.
2. Secondly, by a legall conviction by verdict, confession, or witnesse; both
3. which are wanting in my Case. Thirdly, the losse onely
4. of *one Eare*, and that without any Pilloring, fining, imprisoning, or Stigmatizing; not to be inflicted but where the party wants an Eare. In my Case all these penalties are joyntly imposed without any Law.

By the Statute of 2 Ed. 6. c. 15. *Artificers or labourers who*

who conſpired or covenanted together to promiſe, or make Oaths not to doe their worke, but at a certaine rate, and not to finiſh that another hath begun; being lawfully thereof convicted by verdict, confeſſion or otherwiſe, ſhall for the ſecond offence ſuffer puniſhment of the Pillory, unleſſe he pay 20. pound to the King within ſix dayes. And for the third offence forfet 40 pound to the King, if he have ſufficient, and pay the ſame within ſix dayes, or elſe, ſhall ſit on the Pillory and loſe one of his Eares.

But firſt, this is by ſpeciall Act. Secondly by lawfull conviction, by verdict, confeſſion or witneſſe. Thirdly, in caſe of poore *Labourers* and *Artificers* not worth 40 pound Fourthly, with power to prevent the loſſe of the Eare by paying 40. pound within ſix dayes after conviction, Fiftly, the loſſe onely of *one Eare* not both, and that without any fine or impriſonment 6. for the third offence: And ſo different from my caſe in all theſe particulars. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5.

By the Statute of 33. Hen. 8. c. 1. *Counterfeiters of Letters or privy tokens to receive mony or goods, convicted by the oathes of witneſſes in the Star-chamber, or elſe-where, ſhall be impriſoned, ſet on the Pillory, or puniſhed by any corporall puniſhment, except paines of death.*

But this is by expreſſe Statute, neither have I heard of any that hath loſt his Eares, or any member by ſentence in Star-chamber for this offence, though a kind of *Felony*, and capitall crime. Beſides, the Star-chamber is here expreſſely nominated, neither can it impoſe any other puniſhment then what other Courts may doe.

By the Statute of 8. Eliz. c. 3. *Tranſporters of Sheepe, ſhall for the firſt offence forfeit all their goods, ſuffer one yeares impriſonment without baile, and then have the left hand cut off in ſome open Market Towne, and there nailed up, in the openeſt place of the Market.*

But this penall (Statute introducing this puniſhment and peculiar to this offence) is no juſtification, but condemnation of the proceedings againſt me. And it is for an of-

fence wherein the whole Commonwealth is deepely interessed in point of Policy, whereas my pretended crime is meerely personall against some Prelates.

The Statutes of 31. Ed. 1. c 33. and 2. R. 2. c. 5. enact, *That the publishers of false Newes, Letters and Tales of Prelates, Dukes, Earles, and Peeres of the Realme, whereby discord may grow betweene the King and his people, or the Nobles, shall onely be imprisoned, till they have brought in Court the first Author of the Tale: and* 12. R. 2. c. 11. enacts further, *that if he cannot produce the Author, hee shall be punished by the advice of the Counsell.*

But these Acts give no power to the Counsell to inflict any Corporall punishment, as losse of Eares, Stigmatizing, &c. Therefore they cannot impose it by any colour from these Lawes, for which no ancient presidents can be produced, but onely imprisonment and no more.

Crompton in his *Iurisdiction of Courts*, Title *Star-chamber*, produceth no presidents of cutting off Eares, stigmatizing, banishment, perpetuall close imprisonment in remote Castles, restraint of Pen, Inke and Bookes, but onely of standing on *the* * *Pillory, wearing of Papers on the head, and riding with the face to the horse taile through West-minster-Hall.*

* For which see Holinshed p. 159. 774. 1181. 1258. 1321.

Therefore then they used no such corporall punishments: By what Law then doe they inflict them now?

I reade, that * *Queene Elizabeth* Anno 1596. *was driven to take severe courses for the restraint of villanous Promoters or Pursevants, who pretending the authoritie and badges of the Queenes Servants, ranged up and downe* England *with counterfeit instruments, under the hands of the Counsell, and the Queenes Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall, and rifled the houses of Widdowes and Papists, taking away whatsoever vessells or jewels had the pictures of Christ, or the Saints upon them, as unlawfull goods: Whereupon divers of them were apprehended, enforced to restore the goods, lost their Eares, and were branded in the foreheads for Counterfeits and impostors.*

* *Martyns Hist. p. 809.*

But

But note first, That this punishment was by inditement onely, and legall conviction, not by any sentence of Star-chamber.

Secondly, in an extraordinary offence, which is capitall, the breaking up of mens houses, and taking away their goods by violence, and the counterfeiting of the Queenes High-Commission Seale, being Felony in strictnesse of Law, and deserving death. And this practise of these counterfeits is within the compasse of the *Statute of* 33. *Hen.*8.*c.*1. which *warranted these proceedings*; Which in these respects are farre different from my Case, and so no warrant for such an execution upon me.

The Statutes of 3.Hen.7.c.1.and 21.Hen.8.c.20. *give the Star-chamber no cognisance of Libells, nor any Statute since.* Therefore they have no legall conusance of them; much lesse then power to inflict such penalties for them, as losse of Eares, Stigmatizing, perpetuall close imprisonment, &c. as in my case they did, even to duplication.

I read *Matth*,26.51,52. *Mar.*14. 47. *Luk.* 22. 50. 51. *and Iohn* 18.10,11. that when *Peter drew his Sword, and in defence of his Master Christ cut off* Malchus *his right Eare*; *Christ reprehended him for it very sharpely, and healed his Eare againe.* If Christ then would not have one mans Eare cut off in defence of his owne personall quarrell in the field, much lesse would he have Christians, (especially Bishops) to cut off both mens Eares in Courts of Iustice in their own cases, out of private spleen & revenge. St. *Paul* forbids *Bishops to be strikers*, 1 *Tim.*3. 3. *Tit.*1.7. much more to bee strikers and cutters off of Eares.

Paul Ebor in his Booke of the *Religion and Republike of the Iewes* pag.76. Records out of * *Iosephus*; *that Antigonus not content to have violently thrust his Brother Hyrcanus from the High-Priests office, proceeded yet further to cut off his Eares, both to deforme him, and make him for ever after uncapable of that office; which by the Law no maimed man might execute.*

* *Antiq. Iudaeorum lib.* 14.c.15.p. 373. in the last English Edition.

This

This was taxed as a note of barbarous cruelty and injustice in a *Iew*: I presume it will be deemed no lesse in a *Christian*, a *Prelate* (honoured with the Title of his *Grace*) executed on a *Lawyer*, but especially on a *Minister*.

* *Hall. Anno* 15. *Hen* 7. f. 51. *Holinshed* p. 787.

It is recorded by * *Hall* and *Holinshed, that in France they use to cut off onely one Eare of a Theefe or Murtherer, that is admitted to his Clergy; that so he may be knowne againe by that infallible marke of his evill doing; but this* is onely in these two cases, which are capitall, and not in any inferiour offences.

Cooke Institutes f. 116. *Mahemium est membri mutilatio, & membrum est pars Corporis habens dest inatam operationem in Corpore.*

* See *Plutarch Morall Tom.* 1. p. 155. to 159.

This the Eare hath, therefore it is a member; nay more, *the* * *instrument of the most Noble sence, hearing*; without which there can be little or no instruction, or humane conversation among men. And though *the cutting off of the Law bee* * *not properly a maihme because the Eare is no military member*, as the hands, feete, armes, fingers, and other such like parts are; yet the losse of the Eares is a great deformity, and a greater dammage then the losse of the teeth or fingers in sundry respects.

* *Britton f.* 48. *Fitz. Corone* 458. *Stanfords Pleas, f.* 38. 39.

By 33. Hen. 8. c. 6. *The cutting off the Eare or Eares of any of the Kings subjects, maliciously, willingly, or unlawfully, otherwise then by authority of the Law, is such an offence for which the party shall have treble dammages of him that shall doth it, and the King receive* 10. *pound fine.*

This cutting off my Eares without any Law or Act authorizing it, must needs be deemed malicious, and unlawfull: therefore within the penalty of this Act.

Paint 4.

That the Stigmatizing is unlawfull.

By the Statutes of 14. Eliz. c. 5. and 39. Eliz. c. 4. *Rogues are authorized to be branded, but it is on the shoulder* onely; *and Murtherers and Felons that have their Clergy are to be branded onely in the brawne of the left hand,*

hand, with an M. *or* T. *and that onely by the expresse Statutes of* 4. Hen. 7. c. 13. 32. Hen. 8. c. 3. * *not by the common Law.*

* See Halls Chron. 1 c. H. 7. f. 51. Holi shed, p. 787.

But my branding, and that on both the cheekes, where the markes are most visible, is warranted by no expresse Statute, nor by the Common Law; therefore most illegall, I being neither a *Felon*, nor *Rogue* convict.

* Anno 37 Hen. 8. *On the* 13. *of February, a Priest was set on the Pillory in Cheapside and burnt in both cheekes with the Letters* F. *and* A. *and a paper on his head wherein was written,* For false accusing; *which judgement was given by the Lord Chancellour in the Star-chamber,* (Thomas Audley was then Lord Chancellour:) So 3. & 4. *Philip* and *Mary* on the 21. *of November, A man was brought from Westminster Hall riding with his face to the horse-taile, and a paper on his head to the Standard in Cheap, and there set on the Pillory, and then burned with an hot Iron on both his Cheekes with two Letters* F. *and* A. *for false accusing one of the the Court of Common-Pleas in Westminster of Treason.*

* Holinshed p. 968 a 1132. Stow, p. 1103.

By what Law or justifiable authoritie this was done, I am yet to learne, they being the first presidents of this kind. Besides, here was a lawfull conviction of a false accusation of Treason, to take away an innocents life: here in my case is no such conviction nor crime appearing.

By the Statute of 5. Ed. 6. c. 4. *Those that strike with any weapon in any Church or Churchyard, being thereof convicted by verdict of* 12. *men, or by his owne confession, or by two lawfull witnesses, before the Justices of Assises, Justices of Oyer and Terminer or Justices of Peace in their Sessions, by force of this Act, shall be adjudged by the same Justices before whom such person shall be convicted, to have one of his Eares cut off. And if the person or persons so offending have no Eares whereby they should receive such punishment as is before declared, that then he or they to be marked and burned in the Cheekes with an hot Iron, having*

ving this Letter F. whereby they may be knowne and taken for Fray-makers and Fighters.

Where note, First that this Stigmatizing is by speciall Statute, and so cannot be inflicted but by Act of Parliament, else this Act were but superfluous, might it have been done before or without it.

Secondly, that no man shall be stigmatized by this Act, unlesse he be thereof convicted by a verdict of 12. men, his owne confession, or two lawfull witnesses; and that not by an information in the Star-chamber, but upon an inditement before the Iudges and Iustices.

Thirdly, that none is thus to be branded but he that hath no Eares, and if any lose his Eare for this offence, he is not to be branded.

Fourthly, the offendour is onely to lose one Eare; or branded if hee wants Eares onely in one Cheeke, not in both, and is neither to be fined, nor imprisoned.

My branding therefore by no Act of Parliament, without any conviction by verdict, confession, or witnesse, and that in both Cheekes not in one, coupled with a fine of 5000 li. pilloring, losse of both Eares and perpetuall close imprisonment, must needs be against all Law and Iustice, a strange exorbitancy & multifarious cruelty.

By the Statute of 5. Eliz. c. 14. *The forgers, makers, and publishers of false Deeds in some speciall Cases, being thereof convicted, shall have their nostrills slit and seared with an hot Iron, to remaine as a perpetuall note or marke of their false-hood.*

But this punishment is by a speciall Act of Parliament, for this particular heinous offence, not punishable in this sort before; therefore no justification of my Stigmatizing, but a direct probation of its unlawfulnesse, since warranted by no speciall Statute, without conviction, or confession, nor for a crime of so grosse nature as this.

I finde, that * *Kenneth*, an ancient King of Scotland, *about the yeare* 839. enacted a Law, *that fugitives and vagabonds, should be whipped, and burned in the Cheeke.*

* Hollinshed. Hist. Scotland. p. 133.

But

But this was for base Runnagates, and fetled by a Law.

The face of a man is that part wherein the * *Image and majesty of God doth principally shine forth in our humane bodies*; so as the defacing and stigmatizing thereof is an high violation of the very Image of God himself, engraven therein; whence it is layd downe as an aggravation of our Saviours sufferings, *Isay* 52. 14. *cap.* 50. 6. That *his visage was marred more then any man, and his face or forme more then the sonnes of men.* And that he *gave his cheeks to the Nippers, that plucked off his haire.* Yea, * *Spitting in the face* and *smiting men on the cheeke*, *are reputed great reproaches* and *indignities* in *Scripture*, though transient Acts; what then is branding in the face and cheeks which is permanent? It is usuall with Iurors to give greater dammages for a skarre or wound in the face (of whose preservation the Law is so curious that it never prescribes either Felons or Rogues to bee branded therein, but only in the hand or shoulder) then in any other part of the body. Therefore my branding in the face cannot but be a most injurious and malicious act, demerriting good dammages from those who enjoyned it.

* 1 Cor. 11. 7

* Iob 30. 10. 1 Kings 22. 24. 2 Chron. 18. 23. Iob 16. 10 Lam. 3. 30. Mich. 5. 1. Mat. 5. 39.

That the adjudging mee to be sent close Prisoner to Carnarvan Castle, *a remote Prison in* North Wales, *not belonging to the* Starre chamber, *is against Law.*

Point 5.

By 5 *Ed.* 3. *c.* 8. *Prisons shall be kept in Townes*, and by provision of 23 *Hen.* 8. *c.* 2. *Common Jayles and Prisons whereunto evill doers shall be committed for their offences, shall be in Townes, especially in such Towns where most commonly the Assises and Sessions are kept, and where there is most resort, and repaire of people, to the intent that by the meanes thereof fewer shall escape, and also the rather and easier reliefe and charity of the people shall be*

to the Prisoners ministred, 5. Hen. 7. c. 10. Iustices of the Peace shall imprison none in private Castles, but onely in the Common-Goale.

The removing therefore of mee to remote Castles, where my friends could not relieve me, nor have accesse unto me, is expressely against these Acts.

21. Ed. 4. 71. *Br. Imprisonment* 80. *Protestation* 18. *The Fleet is for the Chancery, Common Pleas, Exchequer, and to these Courts the Warden is an Officer: and to the Star-chamber and Palace.* Per Catlin *and* Fairefax. *And though all the Sheriffes of England be officers to the Court of Kings Bench for things done in their severall Counties, yet the Iudges of the Kings Bench cannot commit any one Prisoner to them, as* Brooke *and* Fairefax *are of opinion, but for an offence done in that County. Neither can they commit any man for Felony or Treason to the Fleet, unlesse it be in a speciall case, as where the Marshall of the Kings Bench had married the offenders Sister* (as the case was there) *where the defendant* Winkefield *Esquire, one of the Kings household Servants, who had done great service (Newgate being to vile a Prison for him) was committed three dayes space to Newgate, and then committed the Warden of the Fleet, who received him with a Protestation, of saving to him his liberty at all other times to refuse such Prisoners.*

By these Booke cases, and sundry others, it is apparant; that the Star-chamber and other Courts, cannot by Law commit men to any Prisons but such which properly belong unto them.

But the Castle of *Carnarvan in North-Wales,* where the Kings Writs anciently did not run, and the Castles in *Ierſy* where they run not no, ware no prisons properly belonging to the Star-chamber, who never sent any Prisoners to them before or since, but only my selfe: Therefore this imprisonment in them is against Law.

By the Book of 27. *Hen.* 6. f. 8. *Br. Faux Impris.* 32. *Auditors cannot commit accomptants but to the next Goale, be it in the same or the next County for so is the Statute: And*

if

if they doe contrary, an Action of false imprisonment lyes against them. The reason of this Law was to avoyd vexation, and for the prisoners better reliefe.

By the same reason, the Star-chamber ought to have committed me to some neare or proper Prison belonging to that Court, not to remote obscure Castles. And since they did contrary, the imprisonment is illegall.

The *Statutes of Marlbr. c. 4. West. 1. c. 16. 1. & 2. Phil. and Mar. c. 12.* enact, *that distresses shall not be driven out of the county where they are taken, and that those that offend herein shall be grievously amerced; and that the distresses shall be put in an open pound within three Miles off the place where they were first taken.* And by the *Common-Law, distresses must be kept in a pound Overt; not in a close Pound or Prison, that so the owners may the better feed, and replevie them,* 5. H. 7. 9. Br. Distresses 42. 33 H. 8. Br. Dist. 67. Dr. and Student, l. 2. c. 27. Co. Instit. 47. B. 9. Ed. 4. 2. b. 1. & 2. Phil. and Mar. c. 12.

If then the Subjects very Beasts and Swine, have so much priviledge by the Lawes & Statutes of the Realme, as not to be driven and impounded out of the Counties where they are distrained, and not to be kept close prisoners in any remote or obscure place, but onely in an open pound, where the owners & others may have free accesse to visit, and feede them at their pleasures: No doubt the persons and bodies of the Subjects themselves, by the Lawes and Statutes of the Realme enjoy as ample priviledge as their Beasts. And therefore ought not to be sent to remote and forraigne close prisons, where neither their servants, kindred, wives nor friends can have any accesse to visit or relieve them, but are by speciall order from the Lords (as in this Case) denied all accesse unto them.

By the *Statute of 23 H. 8. c. 9. No man is to be cited out of his proper Diocesse unlesse in speciall Cases.* And *1. Ed. 3. c. 5. No man shall be compelled to goe to war out of the Shiere where he dwelleth, but where necessity and suddaine comming of strang enemies into the Realme requireth.*

The equity of these Lawes (which is to avoyd vexation, charge and unnecessary trouble) doe strongly imply, That no man shall be sent Prisoner into remote countries and places out of the Country where he is either censured or resides: So that from all these premises I conceive my close imprisonment in remote Castles to bee directly against the Law and liberty of a Subject.

Point 6. *That my Perpetuall imprisonment is against Law.*

The Statute of 1 and 2. Phil. and Mar. *c.* 3. and 23. Eliz. c. 2. prescribe but three, *or fixe monthes imprisonment at most, in case of spreading false and scandalous newes against the King and Queene.*

Therfore this case, only against the Prelats (admit a guiltinesse) cannot in Iustice deserve perpetuall imprisonment.

Imprisonment during life cannot bee imposed but where some Acts of Parliament, or the Common-law expresly prescribe it.

But in this case, neither the common-law, nor any expres Act of Parliament prescribe imprisonment perpetuall. Therefore it is illegall.

By the Statute of 23. *Hen.* 8. *c.* 1. *Perpetuall imprisonment is enjoyned to Clergy men found guilty of petty Treason, wilfull Murther, Sacriledge, Burglary,* or *robbing by the way.* All which are capital crimes deserving death; this Act being made in favour of these delinquents lives.

By 5. Eliz. c. 14. *Forgers, Makers, and Publishers of false deeds,* are to be imprisoned during life, the crimes being of an high nature, to defraud men of their Inheritances.

By 31. Hen. 8. c. 13. *Priests the third time convicted of incontinency, are to suffer perpetuall imprisonment.* This is peculiar to Priests, for a grievous scandalous sinne after two severall convictions.

By 8. and 2. Phil. and Mar. c. 3. *Publishers of false and seditious newes, Lyes and Libels against King* Philip *or Queene*

Queene Mary *upon their ſecond conviction for that offence* are to be perpetually impriſoned. But this was for a reiterated crime of an high nature, both againſt King and Queene.

By 5. and 6. Ed. 6. c. 1. and 1. Eliz c. 2. *Recuſants and Separatiſts from the Common-prayer, and adminiſtration of the Sacraments of the Church of England, upon their third conviction and offence; are to be impriſoned during life:* But this is after a treble conviction, and by a ſpeciall Law.

By 33. Hen. 8. c. 12. *Such as maliciouſly ſtrike and ſhed blood within the Kings Palace and houſe,* are to be impriſoned during life, becauſe this might prove dangerous to the Kings perſon. In no other caſes but theſe, that I find, doe our Lawes inflict perpetuall impriſonment; and that by ſpeciall Acts for this purpoſe, introductiue of a new Law.

And by the Common Law it is inflicted on none but thoſe who ſtrike a Iudge, Iuror or Witneſſe in the face of the Court, 22. *Ed* 3. 13. 19. *Ed.* 3. *Fitz: Iudgement* 9. 41. *Aſſ.* 25. 33. *Hen.* 8. *c.* 12, *Brooke Pain* 16. 41. *Ed.* 3. *Corone* 28. 3. *Eliz. Dyer pl.* 10. *fol.* 188.

But my ſuppoſed offence is not any of the forenamed, nor within the words or equity of theſe Acts. Therefore perpetuall impriſonment (and that cloſe which theſe Acts preſcribe not) is againſt all Law, or common Statute.

It is written, Rev. 2. 10. *The Devill ſhall caſt ſome of you into priſon, and you ſhall have tribulation for ten dayes;* not during life.

By this it appeares, that the Devill himſelfe abhors mens perpetuall impriſonment and tribulation as unjuſt; much more then ſhould Chriſtians doe it, eſpecially thoſe, who have ever GRACE in their *Titles*, though ſeldome in their *Actions* and cenſures.

Thoſe * *ſundry Acts* which *provide for Goale deliveries* 4 Ed. 3. c. 2. 17 Rich. 2. c. 10. Raſtall Iuſtices of Goale delivery f. 16. *thrice every yeare at leaſt, even in caſe of Felony and Treaſons;* condemne perpetuall impriſonment in this Caſe, which is not ſo great or hainous as Felony, not puniſhed with

with perpetuall imprisonment. For *Felons admitted to their Clergy, and burnt in the hand, are immediatly or soone after discharged of their imprisonment upon payment of their Fees*; Why I should not be so after a double losse of my eares, and branding on both my cheeks, but remaine a Prisoner during life but for a supposed crime, not capitall or felonious, no Law or reason can be produced.

Point 7. *That my close imprisonment that none might visit or speake with me, is against Law.*

Cookes Institutes f. 260. *b. Imprisonment must be Custodia, non pœna; for Carcer ad homines custodiendos, non puniendos dari debet*: If so, then it ought not to bee close, but at large.

9. Ed. 4. 2. 5. Hen. 7. 9. Br Distresse 42. *By the common Law*, and likewise *by the Statute of* 1. and 2. Ed. Phil. and Mar. c. 12. *Beasts that are distrained ought to be kept in an open Pound, where their owners may freely come and feede them, not in a close Pound or prison, where they cannot repaire to view, feede or repleviſh them at their pleasures.*

If therefore mens very beasts have such a priviledge, surely men themselves should by Law have the selfe same priviledge as their Beasts, if not a greater, and not be shut up close Prisoners in any place, (much lesse in remote and forraigne Prisons) where their friends can neither visit nor relieve them, which was my condition. It is beastiall at the least, if not illegall, to use men, yea Christians worse then Beasts.

It is usuall for men committed, not onely for horrid murthers and Felonies, but likewise for high Treason (unlesse in some speciell Cases, and that onely for a short space) to be kept prisoners at large, and not shut up close prisoners from all accesse of Friends: yea, the *Archbishop of Canterbury* himselfe (the chiefe cause of my restraint and exile) with others now accused and committed by the whole Parliament for high Treason, have still enjoyed

joyed both the liberty of the Prisons where they are, and the free resort of any friends that have a will to visit them. And the Statutes of 5. *Ed.*3.*c.*8. *and* 23. *Hen.*8. *c.*2. which enact, *that Common Goales and Prisons, whereunto evill doers shall be committed, shall be kept in Townes of greatest resort, whereby the rather and ofter relieſe and charitie of the people shall be to the Prisoners ministred*; seemes expressely to provide against all close imprisonments now in use, excluding both the relieſe and accesse of men, yea of Wives, Brethren, Sisters or Children, which was my fellow sufferers case and mine.

If then Felons and Traytors neither are, nor ought to be close imprisoned by Law, in ordinary Prisons amidst their friends, a fortiori, I being neither convicted of Felony, Treason, nor any capitall offence, could not be lawfully kept close prisoner in the remote Castles of *Carnarvan* in North-Wales, and *Mountorgueil* in *Jersey*, where all my friends were by speciall order debarred from me, such an imprisonment being warranted by no former example, or president that I can finde.

By the * Canon Law, *the Judges ought to visit the Prisoners, and to see that they have all necessaries provided for them:* Therefore they ought not to be kept close prisoners, nor removed to remote Prisons, where neither their friends, nor those who adjudged them to the Prison can neither visit them, or provide any necessaries for them: And so my close imprisonment in *Carnarvan* and *Jersey* where my friends could neither relieve nor visit me; and where the Iudges who sent mee thither tooke no order for my diet, or any other necessaries, must be both uncanonicall and illegall at the best.

* Summa Angelica Carter, Sect.6.

When * *Robert Belknap, John Holt, John Crair, Roger Fultharp, William Burgh* and *John Lockton* Iudges, in the 11. yeare King *Richard* the second, *were condemned to death by the Parliament, and their lives pardoned by the Queenes mediation; they were thereupon condemned to perpetuall exile into Ireland,* (but not shut up in any forraigne Castles close;

* Holinshed p. 464. Walsingham. Hist. Anglia, p. 386

close prisoner as I was) *And though all their Lands and goods were forfeited; yet a certaine portion of mony was assigned to them for their daily sustentation in their exile*; So mercifull and just was the Parliament to these Traytors; whereas I had no such portion assigned to sustaine me in my exile; though seconded with the losse of my calling, aggravated with close imprisonment, debarring mee all meanes of subsistence, and an excessive fine which swallowed up all my estate.

Close imprisonment was not usuall among the *Iewes* or *Pagan Romans*, as appeares by *Pauls* case, *accused of Sedition*, and the like crimes as I was accused of: for wee reade *Acts* 23.16. *That Pauls Sisters sonne had accesse to him in prison, and discovered the* 40. *Iewes conspiracy to take away his life. Act.* 23.35. *We finde, he was kept Prisoner upon his remove to Cæsarea, in Herods judgement Hall: Yea, after he had beene accused by* Tertullus, *for a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer up of sedition among the Iewes throughout the world*, Acts 24.5. &c. yet vers. 23. *Fœlix when he had heard him, commanded a Centurion to keepe him, and to let him have libertie, and that he should forbid* * *none of his acquaintance to minister or come unto him*: yea, Act. 28. *Paul in his voyage, had liberty to cure all the sicke that came to him; to visit and lodge with his friends by the way: staying with them at Puteoli seven dayes.* And sayling from thence, *when the brethren at Rome heard of his comming, they came to meete him as farre as Apij Forum, and the three Tavernes*, which some reckon to be above forty miles: *When he came to Rome the Centurion suffered him to dwell by himselfe with a Souldier that kept him: where after three dayes, he called the chiefe of the Iewes to him, and reasoned openly with them.* After which, it is recorded Acts 28 vers. 30, 31. *that Paul dwelt two whole yeares in his owne hired house, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the Kingdome of God, and teaching those things which concerne the Lord Iesus with all confidence, no man forbidding him.*

* Note this

If then Saint *Paul* found so much liberty, though charged

ged with *ſtirring up ſedition, &c.* even under the Tyrant *Nero* among Pagan Romans; It can neither be legall nor Chriſtian, that I ſhould be thus cloſe impriſoned in forraigne parts, and my *Cheſter* friends ſo moleſted as they were, onely for vihting me in my paſſage at my Inne, and not going forth to meet me, as the Brethren at *Rome* went forth to meete *Paul*, and bring him into *Rome*.

Father Latimer in his ninth Sermon, the third *Sunday of Advent*, Anno 1552. hath this notable obſervation and diſcourſe againſt cloſe impriſonment, ſuch as mine was. *The Evangeliſt S. Luke in the ſeventh Chapter, doth ſhew how and by whom Iohn Baptiſt heard ſuch things which our Saviour Chriſt did, namely, by his owne Diſciples, for when our Saviour had raiſed up the widdowes ſonne, which was dead at* Naim, *the Diſciples of Iohn came by and by unto Iohn their Maſter, and told him all things; namely how Chriſt raiſed up that ſame young man which had beene dead already. And this is a thing to be marvelled at, that Iohn had ſo much liberty that his Diſciples could come to him and ſpeake with him.* Herod *the King being a cruell man, a Heathen King, a miſcreant, a man of unbeliefe. No doubt it is a great matter that his Diſciples could have libertie to ſpeake with him, for a man would thinke that no man ſhould have beene permitted to come neare him. For I know that in Chriſtian Realmes, ſome being caſt into priſon for truthes ſake, for Gods Word ſake, have not beene ſuffered, that their friends ſhould have come neare unto them. And here it appeareth moſt manifeſtly, that Chriſtian Princes have ſometimes more cruely and extreamely uſed Gods Preachers, then the Gentiles uſed their Preachers, ſent unto them from God to teach them; they were more ſtraightly holden and more extreamely handled then Iohn was: So wee reade likewiſe of S. Paul, which was caſt into Priſon at* Rome *by that wicked and cruell Tyrant the Emperour* Nero, *which Emperour though he was a cruell Tyrant, a wicked man, and a venomous perſecutor of Gods Church and his holy word, yet for all that,* Paul *had libertie to ſpeake with every one that would come unto him and com-*

mune with him. So that there came unto him who would, and they might speake with him, what they would: For St. Luke saith in the last Chapter of the Acts these words: Paul dwelt two yeares full in the lodging, and received all that came in unto him, preaching the Kingdome of God, and teaching those things which concerne the Lord Iesus with all confidence, no man forbidding him. *Here by these words we may perceive, that* Paul *had liberty to say his mind, and to commune with his friends, hee was not so straightly kept. But we see and have had experience, that Preachers which professe the same words, which* Paul *taught, are more straightly handled in Christian Realmes, then in times past they were, when the Rulers and Princes were not Christians. Christian Princes be more earnest to extinguish Gods word and his true Religion, then the heathen were which knew not, nor would not know God.* Yea, none have beene so peccant in this kind as Antichristian Lordly Prelates (as appeares by the *English* and *French* bookes of Martyrs) most Kings and Princes cruelty of this nature, arising originally from the Prelates instigation, councell and procurement, as * Mr. *Tyndall* manifests.

Acts 28.

A note for Christian Rulers.

* In his obedience of a Christian man, and practise of Popish Prelates.

Had our Prelates beene of Father *Latimers* minde, (whom their predecessours, shut up close prisoner in *Oxford* without Bookes, Pen or Inke) they would not have shut me up so close, and beene more cruell to mee, then *Herod* was to *Iohn*, or *Nero* to *Paul*.

In a word, Christ himselfe hath pronounced such a heavy doome against all close imprisoners, and imprisonments, as should make each Christian heart to tremble: For *Matth* 25.36. *Christ at the last day shall say thus to the elect sheepe on his right hand; I was in prison, and yee came unto me. But to the Goates on his left hand he saith, Depart from me yee cursed into everlasting fire, &c.* (marke the reason) *For I was in prison and yee visited me not, vers.* 43. *Verily I say unto you in as much as yee did it not to one of the least of these, yee did it not to me.*

If then the meere *not visiting of Prisoners*, shall be just matter

matter of condemnation at the day of judgement; certainly the close imprisoning of them, and restraining not onely strangers but their very kindred, friends and wives to visit them, or so much as to set footing on the Islands where they were close exiled, under severe penalties, must needs be very unjust, and demerit a heavy censure now, but a heavier hereafter, when Christ himselfe shall fit as Iudge, and give sentence in this cause.

My close imprisonment therefore being unjust in these respects, I shall conclude with * *Gratian* and *Summa Angelica. Incarcerans aliquem injustè sive sit Iudex, sive non; tenetur de omni dammo ei dato ad restitutionem, & etiam de Injuria sibi satisfacere:* hee that imprisons any man unjustly, be he a Iudge or be hee none, is bound to make restitution to him of all the dammages done unto him, and likewise to satisfie him for the injury. I hope my Iudges will doe thus.

* *Dist.* 14. *qu.* 5 *Summa Angelica Carcer* 3. *fo.* 201.

That my Exile and Banishment into Jersey, and that by an extrajudiciall Order of the Lords, without hearing of me, is against Law. Point 8.

Among the *Athenians, Grecians* and *Romans* (amongst whom *banishment was* * *first introduced by Tarquin* the proud, and *Hippias*, as *Plutarch, Aristotle*, and * *others testifie*) *none ought to bee banished nor exiled their country, but by a publike Act of the whole State or Senate, not by any private Iudicature.*

* *Diodorus Siculus, pag.* 380. 404. *Salust pag.* 49. *Ælian var., Hist. pag* 320. *Aristot. polit. p.* 201. *to* 206.

So by the Lawes of *England* none shall bee banished this their native country but by Parliament.

By *Magna Charta, c.* 29. *No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, &c. or be outlawed or EXILED or any otherwise destroyed, but by the lawfull judgement of his Peeres, or by the law of the Land*; cited in the Petition of *Right* 3. *Caroli*, where it was lately confirmed: No exile therefore but by the Law of the Land.

The Statute 1. Ed. 3. c. 2. with the *Prologue*, proves, *that no Exile, or baniſhment can bee made but by the award of the Peeres and Commons, and by the Kings conſent in Parliament.*

* *Walſingham Hiſt. Angliæ p. 366. Ypodigma Neuſt. p. 152.*
* *Hollinſhed p. 328. Speeds Hiſt. pag. 674*

Thus * *Spencer* and *Pierce Gaviſton were exiled by ſpeciall Statutes, and Belknap, Holte, Fulthorp and Burgh, by ſpeciall Sentence of Parliament.* Yet the * *Spencers petitioned againſt their exile, as contrary to Magna Charta, becauſe the award of their exile was made without the Prelates; who* (as they alleaged) *were Peeres of the Parliament as well as the Temporal Lords, and ſo not made by full Parliament: & becauſe, they were not called to anſwer when they were baniſhed. Which Petition being referred to the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *and his ſuffragans, aſſembled in a Provinciall Councell,* Anno Dom. 1319. *in the 15. yeare of* Edward *the ſecond The Prelates upon deliberation had, declared: that in their opinion, the award as touching the diſinheriting and baniſhing the* Spencers *was erronious, and not rightly decreed; and for themſelves, they denied that they either did or could conſent thereunto; and therefore they required that it might be repealed, as contrary to Law and right. Foure Earles likewiſe declared as much, and ſo did the Barons and Lawyers: Whereupon the King judicially revoked and quite diſannulled the proces of the ſayd award touching the baniſhment and diſinheriting the Spencers, and reſtored them to his peace and their proper eſtates.*

If then this exile by Parliament were erronious, illegall, and againſt *Magna Charta* by the Prelates, Peeres, Iudges, and Kings owne reſolution: then much more muſt mine, by a private Order at Councell Table, made in the long vacation, in my abſence and cloſe impriſonment at *Carnarvan*, without any new cauſe or offence on my part, and in direct oppoſition to the Star-chamber decree in open Court, which adjudged mee to perpetuall priſon in *Carnarvan Caſtle*, which ſentence a private Councell Table order muſt controll.

By 39. Eliz. c. 4. dangerous Rogues after conviction at

quarter

quarter Sessions shall be banished the Realme, and all the dominions thereof, and conveyed to such parts beyond the Seas as the Queenes Privy Counsell, or six or more of them (whereof the Lord Chancellor, or Treasurer to be one) shall assigne, or otherwise bee judged perpetually to the Gallies of this Realme.

If Rogues cannot be banished but by speciall Acts of Parliament, then much lesse free men of better quality.

Abjurations, a kind of exile, are onely in cases of *Felony* or *Treason* by the * Common-Law, and one not capitall by * Act of Parliament; But these are onely voluntary, at the election of the parties, who have free liberty to passe out of the Realme; and ever enjoyed the liberty of those places and countries to which they were exiled.

* See Fitz. and Brooke tit. corone. * 39. Eliz. c. 1

But this my exile into *Iersy* was involuntary (without any new conventing cause shewed, * or hearing of me,) and that onely by an extrajudiciall Order of the Lords in the Summer vacation, quite crosse to my former Sentence: and the conveying of mee close prisoner thither, and keeping mee still close prisoner there, in such sort that no man whatsoever should either speake with mee, or write to mee, is such an unusuall strange banishment and exile, as no former age or history can parallell; and hath no semblance with these abjurements.

* *Nihil potest judicio fieri magis contrarium, quam sine judicio proscribere aliquem. Demosthenes, Tom. 2. p. 100*

*The exiling of villaines out of a manner to which they are regardent, is Wast: for which treble dammages shall be recovered, as our * Law-bookes resolve.* Therefore the banishing and exiling of Freemen out of their native country, and that for no capitall crimes, and there shutting them up close prisoners, must needs be a greater offence, deserving higher damages then treble ones.

* Fitz. and Brooke Tit. wast.

The Statutes pro-recited against citing men out of their dioceese, and going out of their Shires with their armes, unlesse in case of suddaine innovation, imply the unlawfulnesse of exiling mee and my brethren into forraigne Islands without lawfull cause. I shall close up this point with one notable ancient resolution.

The

The famous Christian Emperour *Constantine* the great the honour of our Nation, (borne and crowned Emperour first in *England*) deemed the exile of godly Christians (especially into remote solitary Islands, of which they had yet the liberty) practised by his persecuting Pagan predecessors, not onely a cruell thing, but an unjust, altogether *contrary to the Nature of men*; whereupon hee made these two Lawes.

* *Eusebius de vita Constantini, l. 2, c. 30.*

The first intituled * *A Law for the freeing of Banished men*, to this effect. *Omnes igitur qui CRVDELIBVS IVDICVM SENTENTIIS subjecti &c. Therefore all those* who by THE CRVELL SENTENCES OF THE IVDGES, at what time soever it happened to them, have beene compelled to change their country with exile (or adjudged to banishment) because they neglected not what made for the honour of God and Religion, to whom they had consecrated themselves with the whole power of their soule: All these I say, being restored both to their hereditary possessions, and their accustomed tranquility, may give thankes unto God the liberator (or setter free) of all men: And those who having beene deprived of their goods, and oppressed with the losse of all their fortunes, have hitherto lived a most abject life, these likewise being restored to their former houses, families and goods, may cheerefully enjoy the beneficence of God who is best and mightiest.

* *Eusebius de vita Constantini, l. 2. c. 31.*

The second law inscribed, * *A law for reducing those who were banished INTO ISLANDS*; (as I and my fellow prisoners have beene) which runs thus. *Moreover, we command, that those who are DETEINED IN ISLANDS AGAINST THEIR WILS, shall enjoy the benefit of this our provision and care, to wit, that whereas hitherto they have beene shut up on every side in the narrow cliffes of Mountaines, and environed with the raging waves of the Sea, jam ACERBA ILLA SOLITVDINE, ET A NATVRA HOMINVM PENITVS ALIENATA LIBERATI, that now being freed from that* BITTER

TER SOLITARINESSE, VTTERLY CONTRARY TO THE NATURE OF MEN, (man being *a sociable creature by nature*, as *Aristotle* long since defined) *satiated with the desire of those things they wished for, they may returne againe to their most beloved friends: And where as they have lived a long time in a squalid and sordid odious condition, having obtained a returne, as a suddaine and unexpected prey, and being freed from cares and troubles hereafter, they may live a life, void of feare, under our Empire.*

Seeing then this our famous Emperour *Constantine* neare 1300 yeare since, hath thus adjudged the exiles of Christians into solitary Islands, not only a cruell, but an unnaturall thing, which humane Nature abhores, & thereupon made these publike lawes, to free all Christians from it, and to restore them to their goods, houses and former possessions, I hope this honourable Assembly, will bee of the same judgement with him; and resolve our *Banishments* into forraigne solitary Islands, (aggravated with a close imprisonment, and other restraints not usuall in former ages) not only cruell and inhumane, but most unjust and unchristian; especially proceeding from Prelates, who should only fold their sheepe to preserve them from the Wolves; not banish and close imprison them to destroy them. And thereupon restore us to our liberties, goods, houses, callings, and former possessions; and give us dammages for our losses.

Point. 9

That the prohibiting of me Pen, Inke, Paper and Bookes, is againſt Law.

NO Law or Statute of this Realme, inhibits any man in any Caſe, from the uſe of Pen, Inke, Paper, and Lawfull Bookes, the uſe whereof is permitted, not only to all Felons, but even to Traytors themſelves, unleſſe in ſome Caſes of inconveniency for a ſhort ſpace. This reſtraint therefore being perpetuall, and in a caſe which is neither Felony nor Treaſon, muſt needs be againſt Law; eſpecially in my exile, where I had not ſo much as liberty allowed me, to write to my friends for neceſſaries.

The abuſe of any Lawfull and neceſſary thing, never takes away the uſe of it. Therefore the Law deprives not gluttons any drunkards of meat, & drink which are neceſſary (for then they ſhould bee ſtarved) but only puniſheth them for the abuſe: By the ſame Reaſon, admit Mr. *Pryme* had abuſed Pen, Inke, Paper and Bookes, which were neceſſary for him both to write to his friends, for what he wanted in his exile, and to paſſe away the tedious houres of his cloſe impriſonment (his bookes being then his ſole & beſt companions) yet this was no cauſe to debarre him wholly of the uſe of them, but only to puniſh him in caſe he ſhould then abuſe them.

* See Mr. *Fox* his Acts and Monuments paſſim.

The Popiſh Prelates (as **Bonner*, *Gardner*, and others) brought in the cuſtome of cloſe impriſonment, and debarring the uſe of Pen, Inke, Paper, and bookes to our Godly Martyrs whom they perſecuted, as appeares in the caſe of Maſter *Philpot*, and others, which practice in our Engliſh booke of Martyrs, is branded for moſt unjuſt and Tyrannicall.

Therefore

Therefore not to be approved or revived now, as Lawfull and warrantable; the rather becauſe *Stephen Gardiner*, during his cloſe impriſonment in the Tower, and fleet, in King *Edwards* dayes, had the uſe of Pen, Inke, Paper and Bookes, as appeares by his * *Letters to the Lord protector.*

* *Fox* Acts & Monuments old Edition. p. 718. to 749.

A Booke in Latine is called *Liber*, ſignifying *Free*, becauſe *Free* for all men to read, when once publiſhed by lawfull authority: To debarre men then from reading lawfull bookes, is both againſt the *Freedome* of the *Subjects*, and of bookes themſelves; intituled *Libri, quaſi Liberi, Free.* When *Ovid* for his wanton bookes of love, was banniſhed by *Auguſtus* into the Iſle *Pontus*, he had the liberty of that Iſland, and the benefit of bookes, and of Pen, Inke and Paper, to write to his friends, and others, and to compoſe new Poems, as is evident by his bookes, *de Ponto*, & *Triſtium.* And theſe Elegies and letters of his had free paſſage, without any reſtraint or intercepting; as appeares by his

* *Ovid.* Triſt. l. 1. Eleg. 1.

* *Parve (nec invideo) ſine me liber ibis in urbem.*
Hei mihi, quòd domino non licet ire tuo &c.
Vade liber, verbiſq; meis loca grata ſaluta.
Si quis ut in populo noſtri non immemor illo;
Si quis, qui quid agam forte requiret erit;
Vivere me dices, ſalvum tamen eſſe negabis;
Id quoque quod vivam munus habere Dei.

If then *Ovid* had ſuch liberty under a heathen Emperour in his Exile, I feare my Exile, ſeconded with a cloſe impriſonment, with a reſtraint of pen, Inke, & Paper either to petition or write for neceſſaries, & a command to intercept all letters to or from me, will ſcarce prove legall or Chriſtian.

When *Thraſimond* the cruell *Arian* perſecuting King, baniſhed ſixty Orthodox Biſhops of the Province of *Byzazen* in Affrick, into the Iſland of *Sardinia*, of which *Fulgentius*

gentius was the most eminent; *they had all the liberty of that Island, the mutuall comfort and society one of another, and of their friends and people, who might freely visit them; free liberty to meet, preach, and pray together; to write Bookes in defence of the truth, and consolatory and exhortatory Letters to their friends and others*; as the* Authors of the life of *Fulgentius*, which their* *Letters still extant, evidence.* Yet I, and my brethren were (through the Prelates malice) envyed this liberty in our exiles, under our most gratious Christian King, honoured with the Title, *of defender of the Faith*; which these Godly *Bishops* injoyed under this cruell *Arrian Tyrant.*

When S. *Iohn* was banished by that barbarous Tyrant *Domitian* into the *Isle of Patmos, for the word of God, and testimony of Iesus Christ*; he had the liberty of the Isle, and of Pen and Inke; as appeares by *Rev.* 1. 9. 10. 11. 19. Where the spirit of God expressely commands him, WRITE *the things which thou hast seene, and the things which are, and the things which shall be hereafter*: and *Rev.* 2. 1. 8. 12. 18. c. 3. 1. 7. 14. 4. c. 14. 13. c. 19. 9. c. 21. 5. *He is oft enjoyned to* WRITE, *this and that*; & in his exile, as* all accord, *he writ this booke of the Revelation.* If Saint *Iohn* had so much freedome in his exile, under this bloody and persecuting heathen Emperour *Domitian*, it cannot be lesse then the extremity of injustice to debarre me such liberty in my close imprisonment and exile, under my most gracious and Christian Soveraigne. Alas! how strangely babarous, inhumane and unchristian are Prelates, to deny me and my fellow prisoners the *liberty of Bookes, Pen, Inke, and Paper, to order all letters to, or from Vs to be intercepted in our close imprisonments* even in exile, when as such rigorous severity was never exercised towards Christians, by the most cruell persecuting Pagans?

* Ribadeneira flours des vies des saincts. part. 1. p. 76, 77. And the Author of his life before his workes. c. 29.

* Fulgentius, de fide ad Petrum diac. Epist. Episc. in Sardinia Exulum.

* Eusebius Eccles. Hist. l. 3. c. 18.

That

That the inflicting of these various kinds of punishments on me for one and the same offence, is against the Law of the Realme.

Point. 10.

THe Statutes of 3. *Ed.* 1. *c.* 33. 2. *Ric.* 2. *c.* 5. enact, *that the publishers of false Newes, lies, and Fables against Prelates, Dukes and Peeres of the Realme, shall be punished only with imprisonment*; without fine, or corporall punishments.

4. and 5. *Phil. and Mar. Dyer.* 155. a *Odnels Case*, it was *resolved, that he for speaking horrible and slanderous words against Queene* Mary, *could only be imprisoned at the will of the Queene, according to these Acts, not pillored, stigmatized and bereft of his eares.*

1. *and* 2. *Marie c.* 3. and 23. *Eliz. c.* 2. enacted, *that for scandalous, Libellous and seditious Newes against the King and Queene, the offendor upon his conviction, shall only stand on the Pillory, loose both his eares, if within two monthes space he redeeme them not, by paying a fine of two hundred Markes, or two hundred pound into the Exchequer, and suffer only three or six monethes imprisonment at most.*

In Cases of *High-Treason* and *Felony*, the Judgement is only * *to bee hanged drawne or quartered*, and to *forfeit Land and goods*. And where *Clergy is allowed*, there *to bee only branded in the hand*, without any fine, losse of member, or perpetuall imprisonment.

* See *Fitz.* and *Brookes* crown, and Iudgement.

In all Criminall Cases at the Common-law, which are

* See *Fitz* and *Brooke*, Tit. Fine pur contempts & Imprisoment.

not capitall, * fining and imprisonment, are the sole punishments; neither can there be any addition of penalties to these, but by speciall Act of Parliament.

The same law was among the *Iewes* and *Babylonians*, as appeares by *Ezra* 7. v. 26. *whosoever will not doe the will of thy God, and of the King, Let judgement be executed speedily upon him; Whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment.*

Where note, that each of these were distinct punishments severally inflicted for severall offences, not conjoyned and heaped altogether upon one man, for one and the same offence; neither is there any cropping of eares, searing of Cheekes, or perpetuall close imprisonment in exile here mentioned, which were unknowne in that age.

The accumulation therefore, of all these distinct penalties on me at once, for one and the same pretended offence, must needs be illegall and unjust.

Point. 11.

That the taking of the Bill Pro Confesso *against me for my Counsells default, is against Law.*

IN 17. *Ed.* 4. 5. 18. *Ed.* 4. 22. 23. *Br. Arbitrement* 39. 51. *If A. and B. submit themselves to the Arbitrement of C. for all differences; and C. awards that, A. shall enter into Bond to B. with D. and E. as sureties, by such a day; This award hath beene adjudged there, and oft times since both void in law and unreasonable; because A. hath no meanes to compell D. and E. to be bound with him, in case they refuse, & it is not in A. his own immediate power to fulfill this award.*

By

By the ſame reaſon I being a cloſe priſoner, and having no meanes to conſtraine my counſell to ſigne my anſwer by ſuch a day as was preſcribed, when they refuſed to doe it, this award that the information ſhall for this cauſe bee taken againſt me *Pro Confeſſo*, muſt needs be unreaſonable, and void in Law, ſince it peremptorily enjoyned me to performe, that which was not in my power to perform me.

11. *Hen.* 4. *Baron and Feme. Br.* 38. 53. 65. 73. *The default of the wife in an action againſt the husband, ſhall not be the husbands default, ſo farre as to make him liable to imprisonment or corporall puniſhment.*

Much leſſe then, my Counſells default mine, ſince I have not ſo much power over them, eſpecially being cloſe priſoner, as the husband hath over his wife.

Littl. Sect 435. 436. 437. *A recovery by default againſt a man in Priſon ſhall be avoyded by a writ of Error, becauſe he was in priſon at the time of the default made. So imprisonment ſhall avoid a diſcent, outlary, and Fine.*

Therefore my cloſe impriſonment may juſtly avoid my pretended contempt in not anſwering by a ſet day under my Counſells hand, which I could not remedy, having no free acceſſe unto them, nor meanes to ſolicite or inſtruct them, my ſervant and ſelfe, being both ſhut up cloſe priſoners.

4. *Hen.* 7. 3, 2. *Ed.* 4 *Br. Condition* 127. 140. *A condition impoſſible is void in Law, and when the obligee himſelfe is the cauſe of the diſability to performe the Condition, no advantage ſhall be taken of it by him.*

But here the condition, to put in my anſwer under my Counſells hand, was impoſſible for me to performe, by the Courts owne Act. of Cloſe impriſonment, which diſabled me, by under-hand threatning of my Counſell, and by refuſing to accept my anſwer when tendred; therefore void in Law.

All

Objett. * The Lord Keeper made this objection.

All that was * objected to take the answer *pro confesso* was this; *That if a fellon refuse to answer and put himselfe upon his triall, he shall by the Law be judged guilty, and pressed to death*; for his contempt.

But this case comes nothing to the purpose; For,

1. First, I desired to put in my answer under my owne hand, and tendred it; but the Court refused to admit it.

2. Secondly, I desired to put in an answer under my Councels hand, which when it was engrossed, my Counsell by some of the Court, (as he informed mee and others) was threatned, and commanded not to signe it.

3. Thirdly, I tendred my answer under another of my Councels hands in the Office before, and in open Court at the hearing, desiring to put my selfe upon a legall triall. But the Court would not admit it, that so I might not justifie my selfe. Therefore the case is quite different from that objected, there being a voluntary contempt in that, but none at all in me.

4. Fourthly, most of the charges (specially those concerning *Innovation in religion*) being matters of fact, and to be proved and justified by examination of witnesses onely, the rejecting of my answer, and taking it *pro confesso* did both make me guilty, though innocent, without any proofe or witnesse; and deprived me of all meanes of justification and defence.

That this taking me *pro confesso*, under pretence of a contempt for not putting in my answer under Counsels hand, and denying me to put in my answer under my owne hand is against Law, yea and the very course of the Star-chamber; I shall make it most apparant by this one late president of Doctor *Laiton*, worthy observation.

In

Interiori Camera Stellata ſeptimo die Maii Anno Sexto Car. R.

UPon information this day to the Right Honourable the Lord Privie Seale by his Majeſties Atturney Generall, that he having exhibited an information into this Court againſt Alexander Leighton *defendant for publiſhing and making a ſcandalous and libellous Booke, and to avoyd the defendants delayes had procured Counſell to be aſſigned for him, and yet the ſaid defendant hath not yet anſwered, the time limited by the rules of the Court for the putting in of his anſwer being expired: It was humbly* [1] *prayed, leaſt the defendant* [2] *thereby* * *excuſe his contempt in not anſwering, if his councell ſhould refuſe to ſet their hands to ſuch an anſwer as he ſhould tender, that the ſaid defendants anſwer might be received with his owne name ſet thereunto, which his Lordſhip held* [3] *fit, the ſame being* [4] *warranted by former preſidents. And hath* [5] *ordered it ſhall ſo be. And it is likewiſe ordered, that* Maſter Hudſon, *who was heretofore aſſigned to be of the defendants Counſell be ſpared herein.*

Io. Arthur dep.

In this order concerning Doctor *Layton*, there are ſeven things very conſiderable.

1. That the Kings Atturney himſelfe (not to Doctor) doth move the Court that Doctor *Layton may anſwer under his owne hand, and not under Counſels.*

2. That the *Court held it fit, and ordered that he should doe so.*

3. That the ground of this motion and order was only this. *Left he should thereby excuse his contempt in not answering, if his Counsell should refuse to set their hand to such an answer as he should tender.*

In which reason these two things are implyed: First, that Counsels refusall to set their hands to their Clients answer tendred to them, is a sufficient ground to excuse the Client from contempt.

2. That where the Councell refuse to signe the Clients answer, there the answer ought to be accepted under the Clients owne hand, he being the only party that must either gaine or suffer by the answer, and the answer being still in point of law the Clients only, not the Counsels.

4. That this motion of the Kings Attourney was made, *after the time of putting in his answer was expired*, and before either he or the Court were certainly informed, that his Counsell refused to signe his answer, as the words, *Left the defendant should thereby excuse his contempt in not answering*, strongly import.

5. That this ordering the defendant (though no *Lawyer* but a *Physitian*) *to put in his answer under his own hand*, was *warranted by former presidents*, and therefore *thought fit and ordered then to be done againe.*

6. That the *Court* doth here absolutely *spare and discharge the assigned counsell from subscribing the defendants answer*, before the Court were certaine that he had refused to signe it, upon a jealousie onely that *perchance* he might refuse to doe it.

7. That here is no motion at all, to take the Information *Pro confesso*, for not putting in an answer by the day assigned under Counsels hand; but quite contrary,

trary, *that the party may put in an answer, in this case under his owne hand, without his Counsels.*

To apply these particulars to my owne Case:

1. I oft Petitioned the Court to put in my answer under my owne hand, and yet was still denyed: Master Attourney moving, and the Court ordering quite contrary to what was moved and ordered here, that I must peremptorily put in my answer under my Counsells hand.

2. The Court held this my Petition unfit, though once a *Barrester at Law*; and ordered point blanke in my case, against what they ordered *as fit* here, but few yeeres before.

3. The Court made this order for putting in my Answer peremptorily under my Counsels hands, after I had many times certainly informed them by my Petitions and other that my Counsell would neither draw, nor signe my answer; and adjudged me to be in a contempt for not answering, only for my Counsels default, in not signing the answer which they drew, and promised to signe, upon some under-hand command received (as they confessed) not to signe it.

4. That this order for my answering by Counsell, was made not after, but before the time, for my answers in-coming was expired.

5. That neither former presidents, nor this late one, no nor yet the reasons I alleaged in my Petitions, would move the Court to grant the liberty to put in an answer under my own hand, in the default of my Counsell, much lesse to Order that *I* should doe so; strange justice, to deny that only as unfit to me, which was so frequently granted before without any contradiction, as both *fit* and *just* to all others who desired it, yea, to such who never desired it, in that earnest way of petitioning as I did.

6. That the Court did abſolutely diſcharge mee from anſwering, as if the anſwer no wayes concerned mc, and impoſed the ſole charge of anſwering on my Counſell, whom the anſwer nothing concerned, and who were unwilling, and commanded not to ſigne my anſwer.

7. That the Attourney never moved, that I might anſwer, but only that the Information might be taken *Pro confeſſo* againſt me, for my Counſells not anſwering for mee.

The ſumme of all is this; Either this order and the reaſons and former preſidents warranting it, were juſt, or unjuſt. If juſt, why did this high Court of juſtice make and approve them as juſt? If juſt and equitable, then it muſt be the extremity of injuſtice, to deny to me upon my Petitions what was readily granted to others, as *fit and reaſonable*, upon the proſecutors owne voluntary motion. And what the Court reſolved a juſt ground of excuſing a contempt in them, cannot without great injury be cenſured moſt ſeverely, as an inexcuſable grand contumacy in me and my co-defendants, as it was ſo doomed and cenſured in our caſe, witenes the very words of the decree: *upon full and deliberate hearing it appeared to the Court, that the defendants,* Baſtwicke *and* Prynne *had contemptuouſly refuſed to anſwer the Information after ſeverall dayes given*; when as both of us tendered our anſwers, and oft petitioned that they might be received under our owne hands, yet the Court would not admit and receive them, as they have other mens anſwers heretofore in our condition. Will you know the reaſon? *The Biſhops foot was in the pot:* and *they turned* our *Ins*, and * *Iudgement into wormewood*; our broth into *Gall and bitterneſſe.*

* Amos 5.7. & 6.12.

The

The difference between my two cenſures, and the proceedings in them, ſhewing the Prelates cruelty and injuſtice to bee tranſcendent.

Point. 12.

1. IN the firſt caſe preſuppoſing high and hainous offences both againſt the King, Queene, State, Court, Nobles, Magiſtrates, People, There was a fine onely of 5000*l.* impoſed, and that not by the vote of the whole Court: In the ſecond, onely againſt the Prelates, a fine of 5000 pounds impoſed by an unanimous vote of the whole Court.
2. In the firſt, there was no ſtigmatizing on the cheekes: In the ſecond there is.
3. In the firſt a more moderate execution upon my Eares: In the ſecond a barbarous execution with exceſſe and cruelty, to the danger of my life, being cut cloſe into the cheeke neare the jugular veine, and thrice branded, which exceeded the ſentence.
4. In the firſt there was onely an impriſonment at large, and that in the Tower of *London*: In the latter a perpetuall cloſe impriſonment, and that in a ruinous remote Caſtle, at *Carnarvan* in *North-Wales*, farre from all friends and comforts.
5. In the firſt, there was no cloſe impriſonment of my ſervant, or reſtraint from Pen, and Inke to prevent my anſwer, no order given to counſell not to ſigne an anſwer when drawne and engroſſed by them; no refuſall of an anſwer when tendred, under counſells hands; no reſtraint of my Servant

or friends to attend mee during my sores, no close imprisoning of my Servant to inforce him to accuse mee his Master. In the second there is all this indirect and injurious proceeding, and farre more.

6. In the first, there was no restraint of Pen, Inke, Paper and Bookes, from me. In the latter is a restraint of all these, and that by an extrajudiciall Order after the sentence, being no part of the decree.

7. In the first, there was no restraint of any friends to visit me freely, nor penalty inflicted on any who came to see me: here a restraint of all friends whatsoever (and of my fellow-prisoners Wives) so much as once to visit me, and a severe proceeding and censure inflicted on my friends of *Chester*, onely for visiting me in my passage there, though there was no order to the contrary.

8. In the first, there was no Exile or conveying mee close prisoner in the winter time through dangerous seas to a forreigne Island, by an extrajudiciall Order of the Lords in the long vacation. Here we finde all this and more, after the second censure.

9. In the first, there was no banishment to, nor close imprisonment in a forraigne Island, without any cause, or conventing of mee before the Lords. In the last cause there is all this: and not onely a close imprisonment of me in a forraigne Isle, but that seconded with a direct Order, that no friend or person but my keepers only should once speake with mee, that all Letters to mee should be intercepted, and that I should neither have the use of Pen, Inke or Paper at any time, so much as to write for necessaries, nor the use of any books (though licensed) but the Bible, and some few bookes

bookes for private devotion. A preſident which no age can parallell.

10. In the firſt there was no opē libelling againſt me in Pulpits, and that by ſpeciall order and command from ſome prelates, entred in their regiſters: in *bookes* printed by authority, and in the high-Commiſſions, no burning of my pictures at the open High-Croſſe at *Cheſter*, no ranſaking of my friends houſes, ſtudies, bookes, writings, and vexing them in the high-Commiſſion. In the ſecond all theſe vexations, oppreſſions, and injuries concurre.

Such difference is there betweene the proceedings and cenſures in caſes of Prelates, and of the Kings Majeſtie, and all other perſons. Neither had the firſt cenſure againſt me beene ſo extravagant, multifarious and rigorous had not the prelates beene the promoters of it and infuſed their *rancorous* influence into its denuntiation, and execution, God deliver all innocent lambes, from ſuch blood-thirſty, and mercileſſe * *Wolves*, * *whoſe very tender mercies are cruelties*, and have proved ſuch to me. For when they could not ſtrangle me (as they endeavored) in three ſeveral pillories, murther me by duplicated wounds, drowne me in my winter voyage through dangerous Seas, ſtarve mee by ſtripping mee of my meanes and calling, and ſhutting me up cloſe priſoner, not allowing me any maintenance or diet to ſupport me at home; they would yet trie to famiſh me by an exile, and moſt ſtrict cloſe impriſonment among ſtrangers abroad, where no friends nor letters might have acceſſe unto me; and when all theſe fayled, they would yet martyr mee in my bookes, and portraytures (as an heretique,) which they publikly burnt to aſhes, to manifeſt, that they would have done as much to my perſon, but that they wanted power; And yet after all theſe tortures, and vexations, (enough to ſatiate the moſt malicious, and content the moſt revenge-

* Acts 20. 29.
* Pro. 12. 10.

full ſpirit; their rage is not yet wholy diverted away from me, *but their hand*, as farre as they dare, is *ſtretch'd out ſtill*, to worke mee further miſchiefe if they may. *Tantane animis cœleſtibus Ira?* Thoſe ſoules I feare, are ſcarce Cœleſtiall which are fraught with ſo much wrath and malice againſt mee, as knowes neither end, nor meaſure. The Lord rebuke and pardon this their iniquity, and not repay it into their boſomes, as they demerit. I proceed now to the laſt thing, which is but collaterall to my former ceaſures, and concernes my *Cheſter* friends as farre as my ſelfe, to wit.

Point 13. *THat the* Cheſter *Mens viſiting of mee at* Cheſter, *in my paſſage to* Carnarvan *was no offence: that the fining of them for it in the High-Commiſſion at* Yorke, *and the burning of my pictures by their order at the High-Croſſe in* Cheſter, *it againſt Law; and that the Commiſſioners have incurred a Premunire thereby.*

1. THe viſiting of Maſter *Prynne* by his friends, in his paſſage, can be no offence at all, firſt becauſe no Law, Statute, Proclamation nor yet order of the Lords of Star-Chamber prohibited it, and *where no Law is, there is no tranſgreſſion*, Rom. 4. 15. Secondly, becauſe Traitors and Fellons with other criminalls of the higheſt nature may bee, and are dayly viſited by their friends without any reſtraint or offence in all places, where they are impriſoned, the Lord Deputy, and Archbiſhop though committed for high Treaſon by the Parliament, being thus dayly viſited by their friends without offence or cenſure. Much more then might a delinquent of inferiour nature, be viſited by my friends in my paſ-

ſages:

ſage, eſpecially when they thought they ſhould never ſee mee more. Among the Eccleſiaſticll Lawes of King *Edward* the elder and *Guthurne* the Dane, *I* meet with this act * *c.* 10. *Si cui membrum corporis ſceleris admiſſi cauſa præciditur* (which was onely in caſe of capitall crimes) *iſque has noctes ſuperſtes fuerit, quiſque deinceps IMPUNE, aut ejus vulneri medicinam, aut animo conſolationem adhibeat.* It was therefore no offence in thoſe dayes to viſit malefactors after judgement denounced againſt, and demembration executed upon them; the Biſhop was then to licenſe men to viſit them, in caſe they were Excommunicated for thoſe offences, as this clauſe, *impetratamen ab Epiſcopo venia*, imports. Thirdly, becauſe the *viſiting of priſoners*, and other afflicted perſons, *is a Chriſtian duty, injoyned and commended by God and Chriſt in* Scripture, where the not viſiting of them is likewiſe branded *for a damnable ſin*, Matth. 25.35.36. 41,42,43,44. *James* 1. 27. *Acts* 28. 10 14,15 30.31. *Cap* 24.23. Therefore it was no offence, but a Chriſtian and commendable act in them, to viſit Maſter *Prynne*. And ſo not cenſurable by the high Commiſſioners, unleſſe * *Nihil niſi aliquod grande bonum à Nerone damnatum*, may be rightly verifyed of them.

* *H. Spelmanni Conc. Tom. 1. p.* 39.

* *De membro truncato poſt tertium diem ſubveniendo.*

* *Tertulliani Apologia.*

It it were an offence, yet it was onely civill, puniſhable in the Star-Chamber, where he was cenſured, not in the High-Commiſſion, which hath comiſance onely of Eccleſiaſticall crimes. Now the high Commiſſioners themſelves acknowledge this act meerely civill, firſt becauſe they * confeſſe it an affront or contempt againſt the Star-Chamber, where Maſter *Prynne* was cenſured, for preſuppoſed libellous and ſeditious bookes, not againſt any Eccleſiaſticall Court, wherein he was never cenſured for any Eccleſiaſticall crime. Secondly, becauſe they impoſe on the *Cheſter-men* a temporall puniſhment, as *fining*, *impriſonment*, and an *acknowledgement*

* In their Articles and cenſures, againſt Conſtance.

of this offence in the common Hall at Chester *before the Major, Alderman, and others there assembled*; not an Ecclesiasticall * excommunication. Thirdly, because my pictures being no Ecclesiasticall, but civill things, and I no excommunicate person, the having of the one, and visiting the other, could be but a civill crime, if any. And so the high Commissioners questioning of them for a meere civill thing or offence, must needs involve themselves in a *Præmunire*; as will be cleere by these insuing presidents and authorities.

* For they deemed me no Saint.

3. EDward the first, *among the presentments in Eyre in that yeere; I find some Ecclesiasticall persons presented, for suing others, and for houlding Plea in Spirituall Courts, for things belonging to the Kings temporall Courts, in derogation of his Crowne and Dignity*; for which they were *fined and imprisoned by the Justices*, And that by the Common-Law, before the Statute of *Præmunire*.

21. E. the first, *In the Pleas of the Parliament* Plac. 17. and in *Dorso Clauso* 21. E. 1. m 3. John *Archbishop of* Yorke *in his Spirituall Court sued, Excommunicated, and thereupon imprisoned in the Castle of* Durham, William *of* Willicon, *and* John Rowman, *servants to the Bishop of* Durham (*then absent*,) *for the custody of certaine Lands, to which the said Archbishop pretended right; The custody of which Lands, being a temporall matter, belonged not to Ecclesiasticall cognisance; The Archbishop refusing to absolve and inlarge them, they complaine, and sued him for this unjust proceeding, in Parliament*;

ment; where after a long and full debate, it was at laſt reſolved by the whole Parliament; that the Archbiſhops excommunication of them in his Eccleſiaſticall Court for a temporall thing, was a high contempt againſt the King, to the Diſinheriting of his Crowne and dignity; Whereupon the Archbiſhop (though great mediation and friends were uſed in his behalfe) was by the whole Parliament adjudged; firſt, to be impriſoned. Secondly, to make his ſubmiſſion to the King. Thirdly, fined 4000 Markes to the King (a great fine in thoſe dayes:) After which the Archbiſhop *making many friends to the King, he at laſt accepted of his ſubmiſſion, and pardoned his impriſonment, but would not abate one penny of his fine, for which he made him preſently enter into a Recogniſance of 4000 markes, for the payment thereof.* All which appeares by the record it ſelfe.

THeſe high Commiſſioners offence (in which the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* was chiefe,) in cenſuring my friends for viſiting mee, without any colour of Law or Reaſon, is far greater, and ſavours of more malice, and injuſtice by far, then this Archbiſhops crime; and ſo demerits a more heavy cenſure.

44. EDward. 3.36. *Brooke Premunire* 5. *If a Vicar Leaſe his Vicaridge for yeares or life, rendring rent, and ſue for this rent in the Eccleſiaſticall Court; a Premunire lieth againſt him, becauſe the rent reſerved is a lay thing; theſe three caſes were before the Statute of Premunire.*

16. Rich.

16. Richard 2. *cap.* 5. *It was inacted, that if any purchase or pursue, or cause to be purchased or pursued in the Court of* Rome; *or else-where, any translations, Processes, Excommunications,* Bulls, *Instruments, or other things which touched the King our Lord, against him, his Crowne or Regality; or his Realme, that their Notaries, Procurators, Maintainers, Abettors, Fautors, and Counsellors shall be put out of the Kings Protection; their Lands and Tenements, goods and Chattles forfeited to the King, and they attached by their bodies, if they may be found.*

Since this Act it hath oft beene resolved in our Law bookes, as 5. *Edward* 4. 6. *Br. Premunire* 12. and *Fitz.* 5. *Doctor and Student*, Fo. 116. 119. *Cromptons Iurisdictions of Courts.* f. 97. 10. H. 7. 9. *Fitz. Imprif.* 28. (& thereupon complained of by the Prelates without successe, as appeares by *Mathew Parker Archbishop of Canterbury*, in his *Antiquitates Ecclesiæ Britannicæ.* pa. 323. 326. 327. 328. 336. & Master *Fox* in his *Acts and Monuments* printed at *London* 1610 page 645.) *That if a man be sued or Excommunicated in the Bishops, or in any other Ecclesiasticall Court for debt, trespas, right of Patronage, or any temporall things, not appertaining to the Ecclesiasticall, but to the Kings temporall Courts; a* Premunire *lieth against him, by this Statute, of* 16. Rich. 6. *c.* 5. *which sayeth; If they sue in the Court of* Rome, *or elsewhere*; which word *elsewhere*, is meant of the Bishops Ecclesiasticall Courts.

If

IF the meere ſuing for a temporall thing in a ſpirituall Court be a *Premunire*, much more then the ſevere cenſure of the *Cheſter-men*, for no crime at all, (or at leaſt wiſe for a civill offence, if any) muſt deſerue a *Premunire*.

21. EDward 3. F. 60. Cromptons *Iuriſdiction of Courts Fol.* 97. Br. *Premunire* 21. *If a Biſhop viſit or intermedle with a* Donative, *which is but a lay fee; or viſit a free chappel or place exempt; he incurs a* Premunire: *thus* Barlow *Biſhop of* Bath *and* Wells, *for viſiting the Deane and Charter thereof incurred a* Premunire, *in King* Edward *the ſixth dayes, as* Brooke there relates: *for which hee was glad to compound*, And before him, *William Bateman* Biſhop of *Norwich* did the like, *for viſiting the Abby* of Saint *Edmonds Bury*; for *which he was fined* 30 *Tallents of gould to the King*; (amounting to 3000 pounds or more) as *Johannes Anglicus, Hiſtoriæ Auitæ. c.* 49. *and the* Author *of the catalogue of the Chancellours and Colledges of the Univerſity of Cambridge, Aula Trinitatis*, relate. If the mere viſiting of a lay fee, or place exempt, demerit ſuch a penalty, much more the ſevere puniſhment of the *Cheſter-men*, onely for viſiting Maſter *Prynne*, deſerves a ſharper ſentence. *Keilway F.* 182. *Halls Cronicle F.* 50. *Fox Acts and monuments p.* 737. 738. *Richard Hunne*, a Marchant Taylor in London, Anno 1514. *brought a* Premunire by the advice of his councell, againſt *Thomas Dryfield* Clarke parſon of Saint *Mary Matſalon*,

ſalon, his aiders and abbettors, *for ſuing him in the ſpirituall Court for his childs bearing-ſheete, as a mortuary*; to prevent which ſute (at which the Clergy were much inraged) *Fitz-Jeams* then Biſhop of *London*, his Chancellor, Chaplines and others conſpired againſt the ſaid *Hunne*, and murthered him in *Lollards* Tower, for which ſome of them were executed.

7. Henry 8. Keilway, F. 183. 184. *Doctor* Standiſh *was cited and convented before the Convocation, for affirming, that the Exempting of* Clergy-men from *temporall Iuriſdiction, was not* de jure divino: *That Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, and Conſtitutions obliged none but thoſe who voluntarily received them; That lay-men, might without ſinne puniſh any Clergymen, by reaſon of the negligence of the Prelates; That the ſtudy of the canon Law was to be rejected, becauſe it controuled divinity it ſelfe, whoſe hand maid it is; and that ſo little of the volumnes of the Decrees did bind Chriſtians, that one might hould it all in his fiſt; Upon this Citation, all the Iudges of* England, *the Kings learned councell of both Lawes, civill Canon and Common, with divers of the Parliament, met together at* Black-friers; *where, after full debate of the cauſe on both ſides, they all joyntly and Clearly reſolved; that all thoſe of the Convocation who had their hands in awarding the ſaid citation againſt Doctor* Standiſh *for maintaining the Kings temporal Iuriſdiction, were in the Caſe of a* Premunire.

If

IF this meere citation made theſe incurre a *Premunire*, much more doth the *Yorke high-Commiſſioners* cenſure, (a moſt extravagant proceeding) ſubject them to the penalty of it.

HIlary 2.5.H.8.Coram Rege, *Rot* 15. Richard Nyx. *Biſhop of* Norwich, *was attainted in a* Premunire, *put out of the Kings protection, his perſon impriſoned, Lands, Goods and Chattles forfeited to the King, for citing* Richard Cockerall *Mayor of* Thetford, *and others into his ſpirituall Court, and injoyning them under paine of Excommunication, to call a Iury of the ſaid Towne before them, and cauſe them to revoke and cancell a preſentment they had found upon Oath, touching their liberties,* to wit; *That none of the ſaid Towne ought to be cited into any ſpirituall conſiſtory, but onely into the Deane of* Thetfords *Court; and that if any one cited any of that Towne into another ſpirituall Court, he ſhould forfet ſix ſhilling eightpence for the ſame; The glaſſe Windows of Kings Colledge Chapple in Cambridge were bought and ſet up with part of this Biſhops fine and forfeiture upō this his attainder, as the author of the Catalogue of the Chancellors and Colledges of* Cambridge *records*, in his *Collegium Regis.*

Trinity 36. H.8.Rot. 9. Arthur Bulkly *Biſhop of* Bangor, *and* John Lewis *vicar of* Llan-geyn-wyn, *were attainted in a* Premunire *at the proſecution of* Wil. Whorewood *the Kings Attorney, for*

tring the right of patronage and Tithes of the ſaid Church, and ſuing for ſeverall ſomes of mony due on bond for Tithes, in the Biſhops Eccleſiaſticall Court; which had no cogniſance of them, being temporall, and belonging onely to the Kings civill Courts; to the derogation of the imperiall Iuriſdiction of the King and his Crowne, and ſubverſion of the Lawes, and Statutes of the realme, And hereupon judgement was given againſt them, according to the Statute. The reaſon of theſe two caſes is the ſame with them of Cheſter; the caſes, the ſame in ſubſtance; therefore the puniſhment of the Yorke Commiſſioners, muſt be the ſame with thoſe Biſhops.

In one of *Steven Gardners* (*Biſhop of* Wincheſter) his *Letters* to the *Lord Protector* in King Edward *the ſixt* his raigne, in the old edition of *Maſter Fox* his *Acts and Monuments*, printed in *Queene Elizabeths* time (but omitted in the Editions ſince) I finde this notable paſſage. *Page.* 741. *When the Biſhop of* Exeter *and his Chancellour, were by one body brought in a* Premunire (*for ſuing for a temporall thing in the ſpirituall Court,*) *which matter my Lord Privy ſeale cannot forget, I reaſoned with the* Lord Awdly, *then* Lord Chauncellor, *ſo far, as hee bade mee hold my peace, for feare of entring into a* Premunire *my ſelfe; whereupon I ſtaid; but concluded, it ſeemed to me ſtrange, That a man authorized by the King, (as ſince the Kings Majeſtie hath taken upon him the ſupremacy, every Biſhop is ſuch a one) could fall in a* Premunire; *After I had reaſoned the matter once with the Parliament*

liament house, where was free speech without danger, there the Lord Audly, *then* Chancellour, *to satisfy me familiarly, because I was in some secret estimation, which he then knew; thou art a good fellow Bishop* (quoth hee) *which was the manner of his familiar speech; looke the Act of Supremacy, and there the Kings doings be restrained, to spirituall Iurisdiction; and in another Act it is provided;* that no spirituall Law shall have place contrary to a common Law or Act of Parliament; * *and this were not* (quod hee) *you Bishops wouldenter in with the King, and by meanes of his supremacy, order the laiety as you listed; But we will provide* (quod hee) *that the*, * Premunire *shall ever hang over your heads, and so wee lay-men shall be sure to injoy our Inheritance by the common Lawes and Acts of Parliament.* Before which he in the same Letter hath this notable passage. *Now whether the King may command against an Act of Parliament, and what danger they may fall in that breake the Law with the Kings consent, I dare say no man alive at this day hath had more experience, what the Iudges and Lawyers have said, then I: first I had experience in my old master the* Lord Cardinall, *who obtained his legacy by our late Soveraigne Lords request at* Rome; *and in his sight and knowledge occupied the same, with his two Crosses and Maces borne before him many yeares: yet because it was against the Lawes of the Realme, the Iudges concluded the offence of the* Premunire: *which conclusion I bare away, and tooke it for a Law of the Realme, because the Lawyers so said,*

* Note this.

* Note this.

but my reason digested it not, The Lawyers for confirmation of their doings, brought in a case of the Lord Tiptoffe, as I remember, a Jolly Civillian; he was chancellor to the King; who because in execution of the Kings Commission, he had offended the Lawes of the Realme; hee suffered on Tower Hill; they brought in the examples of many * Judges that had fines set on their heads in like cases, for doing against the Lawes of the Realme, by the Kings Commandement; and then was brought in the * Judges Oath, not to stay any processes or judgement for any commandement from the Kings Majestie. And one Article against my Lord Cardinall was, that he had granted injunctions to † stay the common Lawes; and upon that occasion Magna Charta was spoken of, and it was made a great Matter to stay the common Law. And this I learned in that case. Sithens that time (being of the councell;) when many Proclamations were directed against the carriers out of Corne, at such time as the transgressors should be punished, the Judges would answer, it might not bee by the Lawes: whereupon insued the* act of Proclamations; in the passing of which act many liberall words were spoken, and a plaine promise, that by authority of the Act for proclamations, nothing should be made contrary to an act of Parliament or the common Law. It is not yet full two yeares agoe; since in a case of Juels, I was faine with the Emperors Embassadour and after in the Emperors Court, defend and maintaine * by commandement; that the Kings of this Realme were not above the Order of their Lawes: and therefore the

Iueler

* See Hollinshed p. 119. 243. 244. 455. to 468.

* Note.

a See this in 18 E.3.Stat. 3. Rastal, f. 258.

† This is contrary to magna charta c. 29. 2. E.3.c.8. 18. E. 3 Statute 3. 10 E.3.c.1. 4. 14. E.3.c.14 Sat.1

* 31.H.8.c.8. 34.H.8.c.23.

* Note.

Jueler, although hee had the Kings Bill signed, yet it would not be allowed in the Kings Court, because it was not obtained according to the law. Thus *Winchester* in his *Letter to the* Lord Protector.

FRom which, and the two foregoing precedents, I observe, first; that the *Premunire* lies against Bishops though authorised by the K. Commission, for suing for a civill thing or offence in an Ecclesiasticall Court. Therefore, by the same reason against the high-Commissioners of *York* in our present case. Secondly, that the Kings Commission and expresse command, cannot excuse any from a *Premunire*, or other capitall or pecuniary punishments, for * infringing the Lawes and Statutes of the realmes. Therefore the Kings Commission cannot excuse the high Commissioners of *Yorke* from the same penalties, in case they breake the common and Statute Lawes of the Realme, though expresly authorised to doe it by their Commission: much lesse then can it excuse or justifie them in this case, which is neither within the words nor intent of their Commission.

* Therefore by the same reason the Kings Commission cannot excuse the late pretended illegall Convocation, for making the &c. oath, restraining the power of making and granting out Visitatory Articles, to the Arch. of Cant. only; and granting Subsidies, (a meere lay civill charge never granted but by Act of Parliament passed by both houses) & that under paine of deprivation at the 1. dash *omnia appellationis remota*, from incurring a *Premunire*, which they have demerited in the superlative degree.

Lib. Intrat. F. 24. *Admiralty.* 3. and F. 465. *Admiralty.* 1. *If any man sue in the Admirals Court for anything triable at the Com-Law in any of the Kings Courts at* Westminster, *A* Premunire *lies against the party suing, and the Judge; by the Statute of* Decimo Sexto R. 2. c. 5. as it is there resolved By the same reason, a *Premunire* lies in this case against these high Commissioners, and all those who were parties, prosecutors, or Abbettors, ayders or assistants to this unjust proceeding, against the *Chestermen* and me.

Fox

Fox Acts and Monuments, p. 951. *Mr. William Tracy of Toddington in the County of Gloster, Esquire; made his will, wherein he declared his dislike of masse, and popish merits, and that he hoped to be saved by God onely, and not by any Saint: his sonne comming to prove his will in the Prerogative Office, the Archbishop of Canterbury brings it into the Convocation house, who thereupon adjudged, that Master Tracies corps should be digged out of grave and burnt for an hereticke. The Convocation and Archbishop in prosecution thereof sent a commission to Doctor Parker Chancellor of the Diocesse to execute this sentence, which hee did accordingly. King Henry the eighth hearing his subjects body to be digged up and burnt without his privity, against due order of Law, sends for the Chancellor and chargeth him with this offence: he excuses himselfe on the Archbishop (then newly dead); but this would not acquit him, nor wipe off his fault, he being forced to give 300. pounds, to procure his pardon.*

TO burne the picture of a living man convicted of no heresie or Ecclesiasticall crime, out of hatred to his person, and that by order from an Ecclesiasticall Court, in a publique and disgracefull manner, at the high Crosse of *Chester*, in the presence of the Major and Citizens, solemnely assembled for that purpose, with the messenger standing by in his coate of Armes, is well nigh as great a crime, as to burne this dead Gentlemans corps, after a legall conviction of heresie, as they then supposed; and therefore merits as great a penalty as this Chancellor paid for his pardon, if not farre greater, all circumstances duly consider.

In

In France the burning or executing of any man by effigie, is equivalent in Law, and as great an infamy as the execution and burning of his person: The trampling of the* Kings Seale or writ under feete, is an high contempt against his royall person, punishable severely by the law. * *Chrysostomes* preaching against the silver picture of the Empresse *Eudoxia*, was deemed a sufficient ground in a councell of Bishops, both to deprive him of his Arch-bishopricke of Constantinople, and to banish him. The overturning and abusing of the Emperour* *Theodosius* his statue by those of Antioch was adjudged such a capitall crime, as threatned an utter overthrow and desolation to that famous City, which hee determined to rase and destroy, had it not with much intercession and submission of the delinquents beene prevented: Yea, some of our own martyrs have been burnt to ashes for abusing and burning the Image of a popish Saint, and for but speaking against their worship, and three men were hanged, *Anno* 1532. for burning the* rood of Dover-court.

*Register of Writs, pa. 2. f. 95 a. 118. a. 119. a.

**Socrates Schol. l. 6. c. 16.*

* *Chrysost. ad populum Antiochiæ. Hom. 10. to 25. Eutropius, Zozomen* and *Grimston* in the life of *Theodosius* the elder.

**Fox* Acts and Monuments, p. 495, 496. in the old edition.

From all these premises, I conclude, that the *High-Commissioners of Yorke*, with all their officers, aides, counsellors, and abettors, in these their censures and proceedings against me and my *Chester* friends, have incurred the danger of a *Premunire*, and ought to be thereof attainted.

They censured my *Chester* friends *unheard*; and me and my pictures both *unheard* and *unseene*: this their censure therefore (as well as the two former in Star-chamber the ground of this) is both erronious and unjust, yea contrary to the old rule of justice.

Μηδὲ δίκην δίκασης ΠΡΙΝ ἀμφοῖν μῦθον ἀκάσης.

Give not sentence before both parties be heard; which had it been observed in the Star-chamber and High-commission, I presume I should have beene censured in neither of them as I was.

See B. *Babingtons* notes on Exod. 23.

For my owne part, I dare not principally impute the illegalities and exorbitances of those proceedings and judgements against me, to those honourable Lords and Judges who censured me, (it being the part onely of degenerous *Wolves* and *Curs*, not magnanimous Lyons, to prey on silly *Lambes* eares, and then cloyster them in close prisons when they have done it. But to the malice and injustice of the Prelates, and my Arch-prosecutor *Canturbury*, who hath made no bones to trample all rules of Law and justice under feet, to accomplish his malicious designes.

*Page 137, and in sundry other pages following.

Himselfe in his late published* *Relation of the conference between him & Fisher the Jesuit* avers, *That no man in cõmon equity ought to be suffered, to be Accuser, Witnesse, and Judge in his owne cause*: which he oft inculcates: Yet he forgetting this rule, was prosecutor, accuser, and sole witnesse against me; sate Judge (albeit particularly excepted against) at my two censures, and his hand is commonly first to all the warrants for my imprisonments, exile, and illegall restraints: what justice then I might expect, where this my arch-prosecutor, accuser, and professed enemy sate still as Judge, you may all conjecture.

Object.

Yea, but you and he perchance will object, that not he alone, but the whole Court concurred in my censure; and that he forbeared to sentence me in the last cause, because it *had* * *some reflexion on himselfe.*

*They are his owne words in his printed speech, p. last.

Answ.

True indeed, in the last cause he pronounced no particular sentence against me; but he did *tant amount*, or more. For first, he caused the information to be exhibited against me, my servant to be taken from me, and close imprisoned, my self to be mued up & fettered, that I could have neither pen, inke, paper, nor liberty allowed to draw up, or put in my answer by the time prefixed. 2. He was the cause that my crosse Bill was rejected, my answer under Counsels hand refused, and the Judges put upon a strange certificate

to

to prejudge the cause before the hearing. 3. At the hearing, he sate in open Court to over-aw the Judges by his power and presence, and there made a tedious speech against me and my brethren (wherein he fights for the most part with his owne shadow) used bitter invectives against us; and in the close of his *Oration, he giveth *all hearty thankes to the Lords, for their just and honourable censure* (as he termes it) *upon us, and for their unanimous dislike of us, whom* (he saith) *he will leave to Gods mercy, and the Kings* IVSTICE. 4. He caused his speech forthwith to be printed, and dedicates it to his *Majesty*, with an *Epistle*, wherein he shamefully reviles us, excites his Majesty against us, and tacitly adviseth him to the execution of this sentence, which shortly after was accomplished by his sole instigation, against the Lords good liking who never thought it would be executed. Finally, it is this Archbishops owne printed speech: **All men of understanding know, how oft and how easie* AN OVER-POTENT MEMBER *carries the whole with it, in any body Naturall, Politicke, or Ecclesiasticall.* And all men of understanding (nay *Arche* the *foole* too) know, that *Land* was then an *Over-potent member*, and *carried* the whole *body Politicke and Ecclesiasticall with him* in those daies, whithersoever hee pleased, no man daring to oppose his *Landlesse* and *lawlesse* will. Therefore whatever the Lords or Court did against me, it was originally by his procurement, so as the greatest blame must rest on him. And as for those who have sentenced me for *Lauds* sake, I shall desire them to ruminate on S. *Gregory* his saying (the first erector of the *See of Canturbury*,) with which I shall conclude: ** Sed etiam propter* LAUDEM *qui iudicat malè, munus accipit, & munus quo nihil inanius. Patuit enim illius auris ad accipiendum judicium linguæ alienæ, & perdidit judicium conscientiæ suæ.*

* Speech in Star-chamber p. last.

* Relation of conference, p. 160.

* For he prosecuted him in Star-chamber, and caused him to be whipped, and banished the Court.

* *Gregor. Moralium, l. 9. c. 26.*

I Had here thought to have cast anchor, but meeting with three Letters of the *Bishop of Chester* to the *Archbishop of Yorke*, under his owne hand and seale, notably discovering the malice of this Prelate against M. *Prynne* and his *Chester friends*, (whose persecutions at *Yorke*, originally sprung from his most malicious information, and pestilent instigation, who is able and worthy to render them good damages for their injuries and losses sustained) and fully revealing the Prelates machiavillian underhand plots to persecute all godly Christians, and to ensnare them in their high Commissions by their *Ex officio oathes*, selfe accusations, and the ransaking of their studies to pick matter of accusation and censure against them; I shall here for the honour of this Prelate who writ them, the benefit of the parties they most concerne, and the complement of this *new Discovery of the Prelates tyranny*, insert them in their order; and so conclude.

The first Letter.

To the most Reverend Father in God, my very good Lord, RICHARD, Lord Archbishop of Yorke, his Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of England, and one of the Lords of His Majesties most Honorable Privie *Councell.*

My humble service premised, &c.

MAY *it please your* Grace *to be advertised; I came lately into* Lancashire *to visite my eldest sonne, who hath long lyen here very ill, and unable to stirre; and in my absence from Chester,* Prynne

Prynne (*that twice censured Lawyer*) *was conveyed to* Carnarvan-Castle; *but in his passage was* [a] *entertained at* Chester *by foure factious citizens with great solemnity; which* (*because I conceive it affronts the State to give such countenance to so* [b] *infamous an enemy of both the Church and Common-wealth*) *I thought meet to* [c] *acquaint your Grace with it, and to desire your directions therein.*

The men who did it, were first one Calvin Bryan (*a silly, but a very seditious fellow, who hath lately been Sheriffe of that City.*) *This man* (*as I heare*) *rode to meet him, and brought him jollily to his* [d] *house, where he gave him a great supper. Anothers name is* John Alderſey, *an Alderman of Chester, who* (*with his wife*) *in her feminine zeale burst out into some idle discourse at their meeting. The other two, were* Peter Ince, *Stationer, and* Robert Ince, *a Hoſyer. I my selfe have no authority in Chester to punish them* (*but what my Consistory doth afford*) *not so much as a* [e] *Justice of Peace to bind them to the good behaviour; but if your Grace thinke fit to send a Pursevant, and fetch them into the* [f] *high Commission, it may do good for example to others of that straine. This* Calvin Bryan (*as soone as Doctor* Laytons *Booke came forth, called* Syons Plea) *had got one of them into his shop; which* (*as* [g] *soone as* I *heard*) *I sent and tooke it away from him; and them being threatned and affrighted, he faithfully promised future conformity. As for* Robert Ince, *he was* (*though many yeares since*) *made to*

[a] You should have done well to have played only the part of an informer, not of a misinformer, as here you doe.

[b] I wish you and your fellow prelates were no more infamous enemies to both then he is.

[c] He was therefore the chiefe promoter and informer.

[d] Your Fatherhood, is here both a false informer and accuser; yea, a spreader of false newes, not a word of this being true.

[e] Pitty you were not such an officer, you are so good a Prelate.

[f] You are here an adviser, as well as an informer.

[g] You are very carefull to suppresse all Bookes against the Prelates, but not one Popish booke against the truth.

doe publike penance in the Cathedrall of Cheſter for ſchiſmaticall ſpeeches, by ſentence of the high Commiſſion: And for Peter Ince, we have no other Stationer in that City, yet no Puritanicall bookes but our Citizens get them as ſoone as any, which I ſuppoſe come by his meanes, though he be ſo cunning as it will hardly be diſcovered, unleſſe by his owne anſwer upon his [h] Oath. And for the Alderman (eſpecially his wife) they much bemoaned his perſecution (as they call it) and ſpake diverſe words about his cenſure. All theſe ſeldome or never come to our Sunday Sermons in the Cathedrall, although I have [i] ordered the other Preachers in the City, to end all their Sermons before ours begin: wherein I moſt humbly beſeech your Graces adviſe and aſſiſtance, to bring the Major and their Brethren to our Cathedrall (at leaſt on Sundayes) as in other Cities they uſe to doe, that I may have [k] mine eye on their behaviour. I ſhall await your pleaſure herein, and [l] follow punctually what you command. And ſo moſt humbly (with my prayers to God for all happineſſe upon you and yours, with long life to enjoy it) I take my leave and reſt

[h] See what uſe the Prelates make of ex officio Oathes, to cauſe men to betray themſelves, when they want proofe againſt them.

[i] By what Law muſt men curtall Gods ſervice in their owne pariſh Churches, to dance attendance on your Rochet at the Cathedrall?

[k] It is to advance your owne pride and pomp, not their ſalvation.

[l] Therefore you were the chiefe proſecutor.

Lever, 20. Auguſt 1637.

Your Graces in all obedience

JO. CESTRIEN.

The Biſhop of Cheſters ſecond Letter to the ſame Archbiſhop of Yorke.

After the remembrance of my humble duty:

MAY *it pleaſe your Grace, I have ſeized on five Pictures of* Prynne, *drawne by the Painter* Pulford, *now a* [a] *priſoner at Yorke (which are all that I can heare of,) and I now deſire your Graces pleaſure for the diſpoſall of them; whether you will have them ſent to* Yorke *(which I thinke* [b] *too great an honour for ſuch a wretch) or* [c] *ſacrificed here to* Vulcan, *either publiquely in the Market, or privately before ſome good witneſſes: you may pleaſe to ſignifie my ſervice therein, and it ſhall be done.* Calvin Bruen *was with mee, and told mee, hee was diſmiſſed by the Lords of the Councell; I craved a view of his diſmiſſion, but I find it is rather a remiſſion or tranſmiſſion of him backe to the High-Commiſſion at Yorke. Hee* [d] *cannot deny that he went out and brought* Prynne *into Cheſter, that whiles hee was here, hee* [e] *beſtowed wine upon him: That at his going hence, hee brought him out of the City on horſe-back; he minceth it ſomewhat, and ſaith, it was but halfe a mile, and I beleeve it; but this halfe mile is ſo farre as I uſe to bring the* [f] *Lord Deputy of* Ireland, *when he hath been my gueſt in Cheſter, and to go further would be a trouble to him. If that* Calvin Bruen *ſhall deny this,* [g] *I muſt witneſſe againſt him, that he hath confeſſed ſo much to me. May*

[a] By what Law can you impriſon the Painter for the drawing his Picture only?

[b] Why, a greater honour ro ſend them to Yorke, then to remove him to Carnarvan & Ierſie?

[c] The martyring then of the Pictures proceeded originally from this Prelate, who would needs ſacrifice them for a burnt offering.

[d] He did deny it upon oath, for he neither rode into Cheſter with him, nor ſpake to him till he was in his Inne.

[e] Only one pinte upon his Conducters.

[f] It ſeemes you were very familiar with this great Traytor: and if *Bruen* deſerve ſuch a cenſure, for having Mr. *Prynne* but halfe a mile in his way; what doe you for accompanying a Traytor ſo farre?

Your

your Grace pleaſe to give me leave to interpoſe my opinion, I would adviſe, that the Court be not too haſtie in the diſpatch of thoſe men, till I have [h] *ſearched a little into the depth of this buſineſſe; for I came but a weeke ſince (being with-held in Lancaſhire upon ſome ſervice by his Majeſties command,) and ſomewhat I heare which (if I find true) will miniſter matter for a* [i] *ſounnd cenſure, but I would not ſhew only ſhadowes to that Honourable Company, but certainties, and of ſubſtance I ſhall* [k] *returne it within a fortnight. I heare of one* Boſtock *(a Lawyer of the firſt head) yet one that hath horne enough to runne withall againſt Eccleſiaſticall authority, and as buſie for* [l] *Prohibitions as the beſt: This man (they ſay) is informed againſt, and feares a ſummons from Yorke, for he was more inward with* Prynne *than any other. If hee come before your Grace, I pray examine him narrowly about ſchiſmaticall bookes, for I verily beleeve there hath been no Libellous or ſcandalous Pamphlets publiſhed either from beyond Sea, or printed in England for diverſe yeares, but he hath gotten it and diſperſed it; hee hath been a great Conventicler (as his neighbours affirme) and (if report bee true) of long acquaintance with* Prynne *when hee wrote his Libels, it may be hee afforded him ſome helpe there in. Men thought lately he would have been a Miniſter, but about five yeares ſince he began to ſtudy at the Innes of Court, & is now become a Lawyer gowned. He hath been (as I heare) a great expounder of Scripture in private Families, and a follower of ſeditious Miniſters at Exerciſes, as they call them. If any of thoſe who are before you have acquaintance with him*

[h] See the treachery of Prelates, to examine men in a friendly manner of purpoſe to accuſe them afterwards.

[i] A heavy one if you pleaſe, & ſuch a one they had, but not a ſound one, for the Parliament had judged the contrary.

[k] You were therefore the chiefe adviſer and informer in it.

[l] And as for Prohibitions ſtick much in your ſtomack, it ſeemes you would be lawleſſe.

him, no doubt but they will afford [l] matter enough to worke upon. It is much below me to be an [m] Informer; and therefore I beſeech your Grace let others doe it. But if ſome of the chiefe delinquents be [n] puniſhed for example ſake, and others who never ſpake with Prynne, or beſtowed any curteſie on him (but onely in curioſity ſaw him as a ſtigmatized [o] monſter) bee ſpared till ſufficient matter appeare againſt them (for I heare a clamour of the people that ſome ſuch are ſent for,) your Grace will herein ſhew your zeale of juſtice againſt the one, and your wiſdome and mercy to others, who complaine they are [p] undone by their charges alreadie expended. I know your piety and charity, that you would have both offenders duly cenſured, and innocents freed; and therefore I need adde no advice of mine own herein. But praying God to bleſſe you with health, long life, and at laſt with eternall happineſſe; I reſt

Cheſter, Nov. 10, 1637.

Your Graces in all obedience;

JO. CESTRIEN.

[l] The Prelates can make worke where they find none.

[m] Why then doe you here diſcend below your ſelfe and make it your trade?

[n] Here you perſwade, and adviſe puniſhment bring for informer and Judge too.

[o] *David* ſeemed a monſter to many. P. 71. 7. & if you were knowne to the world as well as maſter Prynne, I doubt not you would be the greateſt Maſter of the two.

[p] It is great mercy to undoe poore men

The Biſhop of Cheſters third Letter to the ſaid Archbiſhop.

MY humble duty remembred: May it pleaſe your Grace, I came to Cheſter lately, having beene held thence longer then I intended, by the [a] deſperate ſickneſſe of my eldeſt Son, and the ſucceeding death of my ſecond ſonne, and afterwards by ſome ſpeciall ſervice commanded by his Majeſty. And here I find all things ſo cloſely ſhut up in ſilence, and theſe wary Citizens ſo affrighted, as little or nothing will be diſcovered about the entertainment of Prynne, more then what

[a] This Judgement of God upon your Children at this time, ſhould have taught you a better leſſon, then to perſecute your poore innocent neighbours.

what your Grace hath already heard. Onely in the examination of Peter Ince his wife, I perceive her husband hath bin of ancient* acquaintance with Prynne, For when Prynne was in the Tower of London upon his first censure for his Histrio-mastix, this Peter Ince visited him (a prisoner) there. The Lords of the Privie Councell had notice of some such matters, for above a moneth since they wrote downe to Chester for a search to be made in his house for seditious bookes, which was accordingly done, by the then Major, but all the Birds were flowne ere the nest was searched, and I beleeve no more will be discovered then what those *Prynnians now at Yorke can reveale unto you.

* Therefore it was the lesse offence in him to visit him.

* Why not Chestrians, or Christians rather.

As for the wife of Thomas Aldersey the Alderman, *I examined her (as I did the other) punctually to every clause both of the originall articles, and the additions, and have returned them sealed into the office by this messenger. If she sweares truely, her offence is not answerable to the* report. For it seemes, Peter Ince and his brother Robert Ince walking through the streets with Prynne went to S. Johns Church (the place where stories say, K. Edgar was rowed over the River Dee, by eight Captive Kings) (which the great Ship lately built by the King relates unto) and in their return homeward, they brought Prynne home to Alderseys house; where she was sitting with other Gossips, and neither expected nor invited Prynne, neither did she send for a drop of Wine for him, or bestowed any other gift upon him (as she supposeth to the worth of a penny) but the offer of a taste of a pint of Wine, which she & her Gossips were then a drinking, ere he came in.

* You were then both informer, examiner, and Judge in this case.

*Nay to your first false information.

I must

I must beleeve this to be so, till * *I finde out further matter, which you shall certainly know, if it be worth writing.*

* Yet you will be no Inquisitor nor Informer, it is below you.

As for that Calvin Bruen, *you will need no further proofe then his own confession (and the attestation of his Companions) he confesseth to me, That he* * *went out of the City, and fetched* Prynne *in, and bestowed Wine on him whiles he was there, and rode out with him when he went thence, and perhaps upon his oath he will further confesse, that he invited him to his house, though* Prynne * *forbore it, finding him (as who will not if he heard him speake) a silly fellow? I once tooke from him the book called* Syons Plea, *for which* Layton *lost his eares.*

* This is one of your owne fables.

* Why then informed you in your first Letter, that he supped there? A lyar needs a good memory.

I wrote in my last letter to your Grace somewhat of one Bostock, *a Yong Lawyer, but an old* [a] *Puritane. I could wish that* ([b] *whiles he hovers at London*) *Master* Blanchard *or some other were sent by authority from Yorke to search his study (but they must have power to breake open his doore, or no good will be done,) for certainely he hath more schismaticall bookes, unlesse this noyse hath scared them away, than any one man in my Diocesse: but you must get them out, either by such a sudden search, or by his owne examination on his* [c] *oath by some of the Brotherhood, for I can doe little service in it.*

[a] Your selfe in your wives time went for such a one, but it seemes you playd but the hypocrite.

[b] See the mischievous malice of this wretched trecherous Prelat, and his pernicious counsell, which was executed.

[c] You are sure Puritans will not forsweare

I have [d] *certified my Lord of Canturlury what passages have beene since* Burton *was a prisoner in Lancaster Castle, and at his departure thence. They are not*

[d] And are you not then a common and malicious informer, and *Cantuarius* spie?

themselves like Prelates.

worth a repetition and suit. I understand his wife was made much of, by some Puritan neighbours thereabouts: when the discovery is perfited, I shall make bold to acquaint your grace with it.

Meane while with the tender of my humble service to your Grace, and my Prayers to God for your health, honour and happinesse, I rest.

Chester *Novem.*20. 1637.

Your Graces in all obedience,

JO. CESTRIEN.

Rev 12.10.Iob. BY these Letters, you may partly discerne the bitter malice, venome and treachery of this avaritious Prelate, who to save the Devill a labour, will needs usurpe his office, and prove a common accuser of, and informer against the Brethren, even for an act of charity, the visiting Acts.20.29. of a prisoner, one chiefe part of a Bishops office in former times; who now are degenerated into such Wolves and Tigers, that they utterly abandon all charity, pity, and common humanity from themselves, and persecute them in others, as the premisses demonstrate. It will be but equall, that these tyrannicall bloody Lord Prelates, should now be so dealt with in the Honourable Court of Parliament, as themselves have formerly dealt with others, for farre lesse crimes, than those they are now accused and guilty of, and that they Iam. 2.13. should have judgement without mercy, who have shewed no mercy, and whose tender mercies have Prov.12.10. been cruelties.

FINIS.

Errata.

Kind Reader I pray correct theſe overſights of the Printer in ſome coppies.

PArt 1. p.7.l.6. for new, r. *now*, p.22.l.19. dele. things, p.24. l.17. *treachery*, p.37. l.23. *moderate*, p.41.l.20. & p.42.l.5. *expounded, expunged.*

Part 2. p.1. l.7. 4. r.14th, p.32.l.12. all, *moſt of* all, p.40. l.8. committed, *convicted*, p.640.l.25. *neere the*, p.70.l.21. *caſes of*, p.80.l.4. the, *ſo*, p.93. l.4. *ſecrecy*, p.96. l.4. *cauſed*, l.29. were, *where*, p.97.l.22. his, *this*, p.98. l.18. ſtrict, *from*, p.95.l.16. *canonicall*, p.108.l.27. *and covetous*, p.143.l.29. dele. *chap.* p.145.l.10. *reſtored*, p.150.l.5. their *the*, p.160. l.13. as, p. 154. l. 19. Law, *eare*, l.28. doth, *doe*, p.166. l.22. *committed to*, l.11. no, ware, *now are*, p.169.l.25. or common, *common*, *or*, p.177.l.34. innovation, r. *invaſion*, p.215. l.21. *ayders.* p.182.l.31. *Vs*, l.32. *rigorous*, p.187, l.25. to, *the*, p.207.l.11. *Chapter*, p.213.l.13. any, *a thing.* p.182.l.31. *Vs*, p.187.l.25. to Dr. *the* Dr. l.3.1. *rigorous.*

In the Margin, p.79. l.4. have, r. *hate*, p.81. l.7. *prayers*, p.122.l.23. And as for, *Theſe*, p.223.l.14. *being*, p.225.l.23. Set, *See.*

THE APOSTASY OF THE LATTER TIMES.

In which, (according to divine prediction) the world should wonder after the Beast, the *Mystery of Iniquity* should so farre prevaile over the *Mystery* of *Godlinesse*, whoriſh *Babylon* over the virgin-Church of Chriſt; as that the viſible glory of the True Church should be much clouded, the True unstained Christian Faith corrupted, the purity of true worship polluted.

OR,

THE GENTILES THEOLOGY OF DÆMONS, *i.e.* inferiour divine powers:

Supposed to be mediatours between God and man:

Revived in the LATTER TIMES amongst Christians, in worshipping of Angels, deifying and invocating of Saints, adoring and templing of Reliques, bowing downe to Images, worshipping of Crosses, &c.

All which, together with

A true discovery of the Nature, Originall, Progresse, of the great, fatall, and solemn *Apostasy*, are cleared.

Delivered in publique some years since upon 1 *Tim.* 4. 1, 2, 3.

By IOSEPH MEDE B.D. and late Fellow of Christs Colledge in Cambridge.

1 Iohn 5. 21. *Little children, keep your selves from Idols.*

LONDON,
Printed by *Richard Bishop* for SAMUEL MAN dwelling at the signe of the Swan in Pauls Church-yard. 1641.

The Preface to the Reader.

VIno vendibili non opus eſt ſuſpensâ hederâ: *A cup of good wine will be known where it is without an Ivy buſh; ſuch is the following diſcourſe, and ſo I am perſwaded it will approve it ſelf unto all unpartiall and judicious Readers. Many yeers agoe I was acquainted with it, by the Authors own hand: For ſuch was his ſcholaſticall ingenuity; I found him moſt free in communicating his ſtudies; right like unto the deſcription of the Scholar in* Chaucer:

Sounding in morall vertue was his ſpeech,
And gladly would Learne, and gladly teach.

And ſometimes he dealt plainly with me, in telling me the reaſon why; and that was, becauſe he found me ſo inquiſitive after his meditations, whereas thoſe with whom he familiarly converſed, were nothing ſo. The truth is, I was exceedingly taken with his notions; for he had a Critical wit, and affected to correct common errours: and herein he ſeemed to me exceeding happy, Demonſtrating not onely acuteneſſe of wit, and clearneſſe of conceipt, but ſolidity of judgment. And therfore from the firſt time, that I grew acquainted with him, I made bold to improve my acquaintance to the uttermoſt of mine owne advantage ſcholaſticall, encouraged thereunto by his facility and ready condeſcenſion to my requeſts.

2 *The beginning of our familiaritie was occaſioned by a rumour ſpread of his opinion, concerning the glorious Kingdome of Chriſt here on earth, which many hunderd yeeres agoe was cryed downe, as the Errour of the* Millenaries: *and* Auguſtine *himſelfe, though confeſſing that at firſt he liked the ſame, yet ſheweth how that afterwards he was taken off from it, and upon what ground. And it ſeemed wondrous ſtrange to us, that ſuch an opinion ſhould after ſo many hundred yeeres be revived; and that in ſo ſtrange a manner, as now we finde, both amongſt us, and amongſt outlandiſh Divines. Nevertheleſſe my ſelfe being firmely ſet upon ſtudies of another nature, I had no great edge ſo much as to hearken to it, much leſſe to take it into conſideration. But a friend in the Countrey ſometimes urged me to write to an acquaintance in* London; *and to entreate him to enquire of Maſter* Mede, *whether he were of the ſame opinion with* Piſcator *and* Alſtedius *concerning the firſt reſurrection, and the glorious kingdome of Chriſt. And hereupon ſhortly after, word was ſent me, that he did agree with* Piſcator *in this, that ſome ſhall riſe a thouſand yeeres before others, but he differed from him in this, that* Piſcator *thought this Reign of Chriſt ſhould be in heaven; but I (ſaid Maſter* Mede) *agree rather with* Alſtedius *and conceive, that the thouſand yeeres reigne of Chriſt ſhall be on earth. Yet herein he differed from* Alſtedius; *that whereas* Alſtedius *was of opinion, that the thouſand yeers reigne of Chriſt ſhould be after the day of judgment, Maſter* Medes *opinion was that it ſhould be* in & Durante die judicii, *in and during the day of judgement; which day of judgement ſhould continue a thouſand yeeres, beginning with the ruine of*

Anti-

Antichriſt, and ending with the deſtruction of Gog *and* Magog. *And that* Camerarius *writing upon* Plato's Alcinous, *teſtifies that the* Rabbines *among the* Iews *write, that the ſeventh thouſand yeares ſhall be the great day of judgement, or the judgement of the great day. And* Hierome *upon the ſixty fifth chapter of* Eſay *confeſſeth, that it was a tradition among the* Jews, *that the Meſſias ſhould reigne a thouſand yeeres in new* Jeruſalem.

3. *When I heard this, my Spirit was ſtirred up in me to lay aſide for a while my ordinary ſtudies, and to take this into conſideration; and I prayed Maſter* Mede *to give me leave to propoſe my reaſons againſt this opinion of his. And the truth is, the improbability of it ſeemed very pregnant unto naturall reaſon; and diverſe arguments that way offered themſelves, which ſeemed to be of very difficult (if at all poſsible) ſolution. And over and above it ſeemed very contradictious to diverſe plaine paſſages of holy Scripture. Maſter* Mede *very redily enterteyned the motion, and preſcribed me a time after which he ſhould be at leaſure for me; and in a letter after this, in his familiar manner asked me ſaying; when come your* Queries? *I accepted his courteous anſwer, and ſent up unto him, firſt and laſt, twelve arguments againſt that opinion of his; and at the firſt I ſent him ten, with an anſwer deviſed by my ſelfe to nine of them; for ſo I had promiſed him, namely that I would bethinke my wits of what poſsibly might bee ſaid in the ſolution of them, according to the ſtraitneſſe of my invention, leaving it to him to approve, or correct, or adde, as he thought good. And whereas I could deviſe nothing at all in anſwer to my tenth argument, he ſent me a large anſwer thereunto in three ſides of a ſheet of Paper;*

whereby I well percieved, that my beſt arguments had been known to him, and examined before I deviſed them.

4. *After this, I came acquainted with many diſcourſes upon the ſame argument, one Printed at* Hanow *in* Germany, De die noviſsimo, *Of the laſt day; a few onely were Printed; Two copies (and no more) were brought into* England; *Maſter* Mede *bought them both, and ſent me one of them to Copy it out, which we did After this, no leſſe then ſeven manu-ſcripts were ſent me from one Divine, treating of this and other myſteries Now here I cannot but confeſſe my corruption, for I received them by way of a bribe. And indeed I was to doe him a favour (which yet was never done, the death of a ſpeciall Friend preventing it) and I dealt plainly with him, and told him I would not ſell my favours* Gratis; *I would be well payd for them. And therefore whereas I heard he had ſtrange notions upon the Revelation, and touching the myſteries of the firſt reſurrection, and Chriſts Kingdome; I looked to be fee'd with the communication of them; with promiſe to return them ſafely, after I had ſuckt the honey out of them, though he had never a whit the leſſe for that, ſuch is the nature of ſpirituall commodities. The good man ſent me word, that ſuch bribes would never make me rich: But I returned anſwer, that they would make me more rich then the enjoying of all the treaſures of* Æthiopia, *and the hill* Amara *to boote: And here I found rich mines indeed, even all the myſteries belonging to Chriſts glorious kingdome ſet downe apart, by way of queſtion, and a ſolemn reſolution thereof, with prooſes adjoyned out of holy ſcripture. Since that, I have met with diverſe choyſe pieces of the ſame argument; ſome proſecuting a few parts thereof only,*

and

and others more. But let that passe, I returne to Master Mede.

Many letters passing betweene us, he had occasion sometimes to touch upon somethings, whereof he had written more at large, either by occasion of Chappell exercises, as he called them, or in more operous and large discourses. I was glad to observe such pretious birds of Paradise spring; and thereupon insinuated with him further, entreating him to communicate such exercises of his to me. And truly I found such exemplary favour with him, that he would scarce deny me any thing. Thus I came to be partaker of divers Chappell exercises of his, one whereof was a notable discovery of the common errour, about Zipporahs *circumcising of her childe, as if she did it in discontent and in spleene, throwing the foreskin at* Moses *feete, and saying,* Thou art a bloody husband. *But Master* Mede *brings it about to signifie the ordinary forme of expression used in that Sacrament, which was to this effect,* Thou art my blood, sonne; *and he proves it both out of notable circumstances of the story of* Moses, *and out of the Rabbines, acknowledging that forme, and applying it to that fact of* Zipporah.

I confesse there hath been some difference betweene us about ceremonies, as about the lawfulnesse of bowing towards the Altar, and about the holinesse of Churches, whereof he was as zealous as his Lord of Canterbury, *or rather more; for he held it unlawfull to pull downe Churches, they being places separated for Gods use, and his peculiar: wherein he followed Master* Hookers *conceit, in the fifth Booke of his* Ecclesiasticall Policie. *But his Lord of* Canterbury *did not hold it unlawfull*

lawfull to pull downe Saint Gregories. *That axiome,* Eadem eſt ratio loci & temporis, *There, is the ſame reaſon of time and place, deceived him, as it deceiveth many, for where it doth hold, it holds only in reference to time, and place, naturall. And indeed, time is only naturall; but place may be artificiall, and ſuch is a Temple. That is for the generall notions of them; then as touching the ſpecial notions of them, herein is a vaſt difference. For the proportion of time is very conſiderable for the advancing of Gods ſervice; as one day in ſeven, rather then one day in a fortnight, or one day in a moneth; the like cannot be ſaid of the proportion of place. And laſtly, the time of Gods worſhip is defined by God ſtill even under the Goſpell, namely, the Lords day; not for any place defined by him. And truely the Lord ſeemed to me by ſpeciall providence to caſt us upon a debate about the holineſſe of Churches. And it was high time to enquire into it, ſuperſtition in this kinde of late ſtrangely encreaſing. The* Auſtine *diſputations in* Oxford, *which were wont to be kept in Saint* Maries *of late I heare, are excommunicated thence. I wonder the Act, and the exerciſes thereof, are not tranſlated to ſome other places, for feare of prophanation: and the* Terræ-filius, *or* Prævaricator, *muſt take heed of obſerving the old forme of exerciſing their pleaſant wits in facetious diſcourſe, for feare of prophanation, which cannot be ſalved by ought but Doctor* Cozens *his* Devotions: *Yet were not the ſame kinds of exerciſes performed at the ſame time, and in the ſame place, in the time of Popery? whence it followes, that either they were more prophane than we now adayes, or we more ſuperſtitious than they.*

6 *But whereas ſome were too forward in cenſuring Maſter* Mede, *as complying with the times in this, it is well knowne, that twenty yeares and more, before that laſt Sermon of his, whereat divers took great offence, he had maintained his opinion that way, and upon a text very plauſible at firſt ſight to juſtifie it,* Lev. 19. 30. Ye ſhal reverence my Sanctuary, *which text may eaſily miſcarry an honeſt man, and a good ſchollar, into an opinion of reverence due unto Churches, either civill or religious, or of a middle ſize betwixt them, as ſome (I heare) have very unhappily ſet their wits on work to deviſe; as if man, made after Gods image, were bound to performe reverence to the worke of his own hands. But if we ſeriouſly conſider the two parts of the text, and duly weigh and compare them together, we ſhall ſoone finde, how the meaning of the one, will give light to cleare the meaning of the other: for thus it runs,* Ye ſhall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary. *Now the keeping of the Sabbath is clearly no other, than the reverenceing of God upon the Sabbath: ſo ſay I, the reverencing of the Sanctuary is no other, than the reverencing of God in the Sanctuary. In all this I have ſpoken nothing of the vaſt difference between the Temple at* Jeruſalem, *and our Temple and Chappels; every one where of among it ſelfe, for devotion thereunto, is compared with the Temple of King* Solomon; *whereas there was but one Temple for all the Scribes, and into that Temple none preſumed to come but the Prieſts and into the* Sanctum Sanctorum *no Prieſts, but the High Prieſt, and that but once a yeare. The truth is, both the Sanctuary, at the firſt, and the Temple throughout, were Ceremoniall, both whole and part, and*

all the ſervices thereof; and ſo God made uſe of it, as of ſacrifices to communicate myſteries of godlineſſe unto his people. Yet I confeſſe I have heard ſome in great ſtate, to profeſſe that the Temple was morall, that is, the building of it a morall duty: But I prove it was not; if it were morall, then all the Church of God for 1600. yeares before the floud, and ſome 1200. after, till the building of the Temple, failed of the ſubſtance of a morall duty; for till then they had none. Againe, if it were a morall duty, then God commanded it from the firſt, either by word, or by writing it in mans heart; not by word, as appeares by Gods owne profeſſion made to David, 2 Sam.7.7. In all the places wherein I have walked, with all the children of Iſrael, ſpake I one word with any of the tribes of Iſrael, when I commanded the Judges to feed my people Iſrael; or ſaid I, Why build ye not me an houſe of Cedar trees? *If written in mans heart, then all along ſo many ages, the people of God ſinned againſt their conſciences, in not building a Temple unto God.*

7. *But perhaps there is ſome colour at leaſt, or ſhew of reaſon to prove this? and what may that be? is it that of* Solomon *to the King of* Tyrus? 2 Chron.2.5. The houſe which I build is great, for great is our God above all gods. *Here ſeemes to be an intimation, that the houſe muſt be anſwerable to the greatneſſe of God: whereto I anſwer: Then belike it is a morall duty to build an houſe anſwerable to Gods greatneſſe. But, ſay I, this was utterly impoſsible to man in the ſtate of Innocency; therefore this is no morall duty. Such an houſe had need be as bigge as all the world, from the outermoſt cope of heaven, to the center of the earth, yet that not anſwerable;*

for

for as Solomon *ſaith, verſe 6. The heavens of heavens cannot conteyne him; but I do it to burn incenſe before him. Yet it became* Salomon *in undertaking it to goe through with it anſwerably to the glory, wherewith God had adorned him: But the patterne of it was delivered to him by* David *his Father, and his Father received it by revelation. Surely it hath been in the power of heathens ſince that time to build temples exceeding the glory of the Temple built by Salomon: witneſſe the Temple of* Diana *at* Epheſus: *and that of* Fez *at this day. Surely the richer Potentates are, the more they are enabled to build more glorious Temples: And the greateſt States of the world at this day are heatheniſh, not Chriſtian.*

8 *But to the matter in hand, Amongſt the cheife pieces which Mr.* Mede *was pleaſed to communicate unto me, this of the Apoſtaſie of Latter times, as it was the largeſt of all the reſt, ſo it gave me greateſt content; both for the interpretation he makes of the text in* Paul, *different from all former interpretations of courſe, which he ſhews to bee moſt agreeable to the text; and that it affordes new and more plentifull matter of meditation, both as touching the doctrines of Dæmons, opening the meaning thereof, & ſhewing what they are: and as touching the deſcription of thoſe perſons, who were the founders of them; which openeth a large field of diſcourſe, and that ſo pertinently and fully exemplified by the Author, as cannot but give great content to the Proteſtant Reader; the foule ſuperſtitions and corruptions in uſe among the Romaniſts, being repreſented to the life, and that with great variety of reading, together with the explication, and illuſtrati-*

on of ſome very obſcure paſſages in Daniels prophecy.

9. I had ſometimes a diſpute with Doctor Sibs about Maſter Medes explication of Saint Pauls phraſe, the doctrines of Dæmons, which he took to be ſomewhat violent and ſtrayned, But I profeſſed freely, I ſaw no juſt reaſon for ſuch a cenſure. It is true we commonly conceived the word Dæmoniorum, to be Genitivus efficientis, a genitive caſe noting the Author or efficient cauſe. But Maſter Mede takes it to be Genitivus materiæ, the genitive caſe noting the matter, or ſubject. Now all the learned and judicious know it to be as uſuall to take the genitive caſe in this latter ſenſe, as in the former; and therefore no racking of the text is committed by him in this: whereas on the other ſide, Beza deſpaires of making Paul ſpeake true Greeke, unleſſe by Dæmons we underſtand falſe Prophets. But Maſter Mede, by his interpretation is driven to no ſuch ſhift, but preſerves the integrity of the language, as well conſiſting with his interpretation.

10. I have heard others highly commend this diſcourſe of Maſter Medes, as a choice piece, as Maſter Steven Marſhall by name, that worthy Preacher. My opinion is, that never was the defection of the Church of Rome, and the native genius thereof more lively, and clearely, and learnedly ſet forth, as moſt exactly anſwereable to that which the Scripture hath foretold, then by Maſter Mede in the opening and expounding of this text, whereupon he inſiſts, and accommodating the manners of the Church of Rome in the latter dayes thereunto; and by Maſter Potter in his learned and accurate diſcourſe of the number

ber of the Beaſt 666 whereof Maſter Medes *judgement was, that it was the greateſt diſcovery that hath been made ſince the world began. Much adoe I had to draw him to peruſe it, and give me his judgement of it: for he feared it would prove but a fancy; but after he had peruſed it, he ſent me word, that he did not think it poſsible that a matter of ſuch reality and ſolidity could be wrought out of it.*

WILLIAM TWISSE.

The Catalogue of the Authors.

A

Acta Stephani Monachi.
Æmilius Sura apud Patereulum.
Ambrosius.
Ammianus Marcellinus.
Apuleius.
Arnobius.
Athenagoras legat. pro Christ.
Augustinus.

B

Balæus.
Baronius.
Basilius.
S. Benedicti Reg.
Beza.
Budæus.

C

Cæsarius.
Calvinus.
Castellio.
Cedrenus.
Celsus apud Originem.
Chemnitius.
Chrysostomus.
Cicero.
Clemens Alexandrinus.
Clementis alterius constitutiones.
Concilium Chalcedonense.
Concilium Constantinopolitanum.
Concilium Laodicenum.
Concilium Nicenum 2.
Constantinus Morossa.
Cosma Megalianus.
Cyrillus Alexandrinus.
Cyrillus Hierosolym.

D

Damascenus.
Diodorus apud Eusebium.

E

Epiphanius.
Evagrius.
Encherius.
Eunapius.
Eusebius.

F

Fasciculus temporum.
Florus.
Franciscus Junius.
Fridericus Sylburgius.

G

Gennadius de viris illustribus.
Graserus.
Gratianus.
Gregorius magnus.
Gregorius Nazianzenus.
Gregorius Nyssenus.
Gregorius Turonensis.

H

Hermes Trismegistus.
Herodotus.
Hesiodus.
Hieronymus.
Hilarius.
Hyperius.

I

Iamblycus.
Interpres Aretæ.
Interpretes Septuagint.
Interpres Syrus.
Interpres Vulgatus.
Joannes Curopalata.
Ioannes de Nicol.
Ionathan.
Iornandes.
Iosephus.
Irenæus.
Iustinus Martyr.

K

Kircheri concordantia.

L

Lactantius.
Legenda aurea.
Leo magnus.
Linacer.

M

Martini Lexicon.
Melanethon.
Melchior

Melchior Canus.
Miracula B. Virginis, lib. Ital.

O

Oecumenius.
Oenomaus apud Euſebium.
Onkelos.
Origines.

P

Paterculus.
Paulus Diaconus.
Philo Biblius.
Plato.
Plutarchus.
Porphyrius.
Poſſevinus.
Procopius.
Pſellus.
Ptolomæus.
Purchas pilgrimage.

S

Sammon. Serenus apud Macrobium.
Sanchuniathon apud Euſebium.
Servius.
Sigonius.
Simeon Metaphraſtes.
Sleidanus.
Socrates, hiſtoricus Eccleſiaſticus.
Stephani, Robertus & Henricus.
Suidas.
Surius.
Syneſius

T

Targumin & Targumiſta.
Tertullianus.
Theodoretus.
Theodorus apud Baronium.
Theophanis miſcel. hiſt.
Theophanes presbyter apud Baron.
Theoſterictus.
Tremelius.
Trithemius.

V

Varro.
Vatablus.
Venantius Fortunatus apud Biblioth. Patrum.
Vincent. hiſtor.
Virgilius.

Z

Zozomenus.

Errata.

Pag.2.line 17.reade *discrete*, p.7.l.2, τῶ, p.9.l.28. *profecta*, p.10,l.13. δαιμονίων,l.17.ἑρμηνεῦον, l.18. διαπορθμεῦον, l.28. *suppetias*. p.11.l.5 ὑπερέτας ἐπισκόπους, p.13.l.6. *Idololatræ*, l. 7. *Idola*, l.9. *Es.*65. l.10. *Idolis*, p.18.l.4. which, p.31.l.12.ὑγιὴς, p.34.l.18.that, p.42.l.31 *induxit*, l.33.*pro Pandiis*, p.45.l.26.attended, p.47.l.5.characters, p.59.l.25.beautifull, p.61.l.8.not, p.70.l.22.συντελεία, p,71.l.34.after sackcloth make a colon, p.77.l.19. & p. 78.l.14. *Iohojachin*, p.83.l.22. contained, p.93.verse 36. *proficietq́*, p.94.ver.39.*honorem*, p.100.l.17. עוז, l.7.polity p.113.l.14.he, p.114.l.8.*sententiæ*.

In the Margine.

Pag.7. טעות, &c. p.13.ψύχαι, p.22.*perspici*, p.46.δη, p.84.*Iornandes*, p.97. עניך, p.48.*habebatur*. p. 125.for Rem r. Hom.

THE APOSTASY OF THE LATER TIMES.

A Treatise on 1 *Timothy* Chap. 4. Ver. 1, 2.

Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ῥητῶς λέγει, ὅτι ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς ἀποστήσονταί τινες τῆς πίστεως, προσέχοντες πνεύμασι πλάνοις, καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων, ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων, κεκαυτηριασμένων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν καλυόντων γαμεῖν ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων, &c.

Which I conceive may bee thus translated, *viz.*

Howbeit the Spirit speaketh expresly, that in the later times some shall revolt from the Faith, attending

to erroneous spirits and * *Doctrines of Dæmons, through the hypocrisie of lyars, having seared consciences, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstaine from meats, &c.*

* Doctrinis Dæmoniorum.

THe words I have read, are a propheſie of a revolt of Chriſtians from the great myſtery of Chriſtian Worſhip, deſcribed in the laſt verſe of the former chapter; which according to the diviſion of the Ancients, ſhould bee the firſt of this: for that laſt verſe, together with the firſt ſix verſes of this and halfe the ſeventh verſe, make the ſeventh title or main Section of this Epiſtle, expreſſed in the Edition of *Robert Stephen*; and ſo ſuppoſed, from the grounds of that diviſion, to belong all to one argument. The words therefore of my Text, depend upon the laſt of the former chapter, as the ſecond part of a diſcreet propoſition; that howſoever the μυστήριον εὐσεβείας the myſtery of Chriſtian Religion, which is, *God manifeſted in the Fleſh, juſtified in the Spirit, ſeene of Angels, and aſſumed into glory:* Though this myſtery was a great one, and at that time preached and beleeved in the world; nevertheleſſe, the Spirit (τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα) ſpeaketh expreſly, *that in the later times there ſhall be a revolt or departing from the faith,* though not in all parts of it, yet from a main and fundamentall part thereof, namely, the aſſumption of this God and Man to the throne of glory, and the incommunicable majeſty in Heaven, where he hath a name given him above every name, and whereof no creature in Heaven or in earth can be capable: which connexion is the reaſon why the Apoſtle putteth this *aſſumption into glory* in the laſt place of his deſcription, which ſhould elſe in the true order have followed the words, *juſtified in the ſpirit,* and beene before *preached unto the Gentiles,* and *beleeved on in the world.* But it is the method of the Scripture, ſometimes

times to translate the proper order, and to mention that in the last place whereunto it is to joine, and from whence it is to inferre the next words that follow after. And unlesse this reason be allowed here, there will hardly be found any other reason of this misplacing. But more of this shall be both spoken and made better to appeare hereafter.

I come now more neer to my Text; the words whereof I divide into two parts: First, a description of this solemne Apostasie, in the first verse. Secondly, the manner or means whereby it was to come to passe in the following verse, *viz. through the hypocrisie of lyars, who had seared consciences, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.*

For the description of the Apostasie it selfe, we shall finde it first generally and indefinitely expressed both in the word ἀποστήσονται they shall apostatize or revolt; and in the next προσέχοντες πνεύμασι πλάνοις shall attend to erroneous Doctrines, or Doctrines of errour. 1

Then particularly, 1 what these erroneous Doctrines should be for the kinde or quality, namely new Doctrines of Dæmons, or a new Idolatry. 2 The persons who should thus apostatize, not all but τινὲς some. 3 The time when it should be, in these later times. 4 The proofe or warrant of this prophesie, it is that which the Spirit hath elsewhere long agoe foretold ῥητῶς in the written word verbatim, *totidem verbis* or in expresse words. For the second part (*viz.*) the means; Consider first the manner or method used, *by lying hypocrisie or hypocriticall lying*; Secondly, the quality and description of the authors and furtherers thereof, they should be such as *had their consciences seared, who forbade marriages and meats*. Where, before I go any further, I must give an account of thus translating these later words which I make the second part, because they are commonly translated otherwise, (*viz.*) intransitively, as referring the words of the two last verses to the persons mentioned in the first (*viz.*) those *some* who 2

should apostatize and give heed to erroneous spirits and doctrines of devils, as they usually translate it: so that the words of the second & third verses should be the expression by particulars of that which was before generally comprized under erroneous spirits and doctrines of devils, which should consist partly in forbidding lawfull marriage, and partly in commanding abstinence from meats, thereby abridging Christian liberty. But this interpretation seemes very unlikely; for first, since S. *Paul* intendeth here to describe that great apostasie of the Christian visible Church, as is evident by the pointing out of the time ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς in the later times; who can beleeve that he who aymeth at this, would instance only in the smaller and almost circumstantiall errours, omitting the main & fundamental, which the Scripture elswhere telleth us should be Idolatry or spirituall fornication. Secondly, as for errours about marriages and meates, they were not proper to the last times, but found more or lesse in the Apostles owne times, as may be gathered by some passages of their Epistles: why should then our Apostle, here speaking of the Apostasie of the last times, instance only in these things which the first times in some measure were never free from? Lastly, which I take alone to be sufficient, the Syntax of the words will not beare it, to have them so translated; for the persons in the first verse τινὲς προσέχοντες are expressed *in casu recto*, whereas the persons in the verses following ψευδολόγων, κεκαυτηριασμένων, κωλυόντων, are in the genitive: now by what Syntax can these be construed intransitively? how will τινὲς agree with ψευδολόγων &c. without breach of Grammar, unsampled in our Apostles Epistles? If any say, they may be referred then and agree with ἀποστήσονται, that indeed would be a strange sense, and nothing to their purpose, to say that Devils lie, have seared consciences, and forbid marriages and meates. But to construe it transitively, and to make all these genitive cases to be governed by ἐν ὑποκρίσει

and

and take the preposition ἐν to signifie *Causam* or *Modum actionis*, * as is most usuall in Scripture: this, as it keepeth the Syntax true, so I hope to make it appeare hereafter to bee the very meaning and the event most answerable thereunto, when you shall heare proved out of Story, that the Apostasie of the visible Church came in by lying wonders and all deceivableness of unrighteousnesse, managed by those who either professed or doted upon Monasticall hypocrisie, the affectation of which errours, at length surprizing the body of the Church, is that which S. *Paul* 2 *Thes.* 2. calls not the Apostasie it selfe, but *a not-love of the truth*, for which God *gave them over to strong delusions that they might beleeve a ly*. But this is out of its place, only I have anticipated thus much, lest you should be too long in suspence of the grounds of this novelty in translating: and yet this difficulty concerning the Syntax, hath stumbled many of our later interpreters, as amongst others *Beza*, who solves it only by saying, that the Apostle more regarded the matter than the construction; which for my part I cannot beleeve: others who can, may if they please. I returne now unto the first part of my Text, the description of that solemne Apostasie; where I will consider the five parts or points thereof as I have propounded them, though it be not according to the order of the words. And first in the more generall expression of the words, as I called it: I say in these words, ἀποστήσονται τινες, & προσέχοντες πλάνοις πνεύμασι (ἀποστήσονται) is as much as to say, they shall make an Apostasie; now ἀποστασία in Scripture use, when it looks towards a person, signifies a revolt or rebellion; when towards God, a spirituall revolt from God or rebellion against divine Majesty, whether totall, or by Idolatry and serving other gods; for the Seventy, whence the new Testament borrows the use of speech, usually translates by this word the verb פָּשַׁע to rebell, and פֶּשַׁע rebellion; both which when they have reference to a spirituall Soveraignty

* *Hyperius* so expounds it in his Comm. on this Epistle.

veraignty, meane nought elſe but Idolatry and ſerving of other gods, as may appeare *Joſuah* 22.19. where the Iſraelites ſuppoſing their brethren the Rubenites and Gadites, in building another Altar upon the banks of Jordan, had meant to have forſaken the Lord and ſerved other gods, they ſaid unto them, תמרדו you have *rebelled* againſt the Lord, and preſently, *rebell* not againſt the Lord, nor *rebell* againſt us; where the Seventy hath ἀπὸ τῦ κυρίυ μὴ ἀποςάτας γενήθητε, καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν μὴ ἀποςῆτε, and in the two and twenty verſe מרד *rebellion* is tranſlated ἀποςασία in the words, the Lord God of gods he knoweth if it be in *rebellion* or tranſgreſſion againſt the Lord; alſo *Numb.* 14. ver. 9. when the people would have renounced the Lord upon the report of the ſpyes, *Joſuah* and *Caleb* ſpake unto them, ſaying, אל תמרדו *rebell yee not*, where the Seventy hath ἀπὸ τῦ κυρίυ μὴ ἀποςάτας γίνεσθε *be not apoſtates from the Lord*; ſo *Nehem.* 9. 26. in that repentant confeſſion which the Levites make of the Idolatry of their nation, they were diſobedient ſay they וימרדו and *rebelled* againſt thee; the Seventy hath ἠλλαξαν καὶ ἀπέςησαν ἀπὸ σῦ, and *Daniel* in the like confeſſion chap. 9. ver. 9. מרדנו the Seventy ἀπέςημεν *wee have rebelled*; ſo the Idolatry of *Ahaz* 2 Chron. 28. and 29. is by the ſame interpreters called ἀποςασία αὐτῦ and he ἀπέςη ἀποςάσει ἀπὸ τῦ κυρίυ *revolted* greatly from the Lord.

I will not trouble you with the places where מרד tranſlated ἀφίςημι is uſed for treaſon and rebellion againſt earthly Princes, which are many: it is ſufficient to gather from what we have quoted, that apoſtaſie having reference to a ſoveraignty and lordſhip, betokens a withdrawing of ſubjection and ſervice therefrom; which if the ſoveraignty and majeſty be divine, is done by Idolatry*, and ſervice of other gods, as well as if the majeſty of the true God were renounced altogether. The uſe of the New Teſtament is anſwerable, *Hebr.* 3. 12. Take heed

* Hence the phraſe in Scripture *fornicari a Deo*, to apoſtatize from God by ſpirituall fornication: *vide* Pſal. 73. Hoſea 9. 1. Ezek. 23. The Concord. Kirch.

heed leſt there be in any of you an evill heart of unbeliefe, ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι in departing from the living God, and which is more neer to our purpoſe S. *Paul* in his 2 *Theſ.* 2. meanes no other thing in his propheſie of the man of ſinne by ἀποστασία than Chriſtian Idolatry, ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία (*Syr.* מרדותא) πρῶτον unleſſe that apoſtaſie come firſt, that is, unleſſe there be a breach of allegiance and faith given unto Chriſt, by Idolatry under Antichriſt: the like therefore I conclude to bee intended in my Text by ἀποστήσονται τῆς πίστεως, namely, that in the later times men ſhould break their oath of fidelity to Chriſt, that in and through him alone they ſhould approach and worſhip the divine Majeſty: and ſo hath the uſe of the word ἀποστασία taught us ſomething, at leaſt it hath wrought an indefinite ſuſpicion of what ſhould befall Chriſtians in the later times; howſoever we are yet in ſuſpence whether this departing from Chriſt and the myſtery of godlineſſe ſhould be *totall* in not acknowledging him at all, or whether *hereticall* in ſerving other gods beſides him. For the Jewes we know, when they forſook the Lord moſt, yet did not forſake him altogether, but their apoſtaſie was in not ſerving him only and alone, but others beſides him, as Calves, the hoſt of Heaven, and *Baalim*.

Let us therefore ſee if the next generall words will affords us yet further information, *viz.* προσέχοντες πνεύμασι πλάνοις attending to erroneous ſpirits, or as ſome read, πνεύμασι πλάνης ſpirits of errour. It would be unprofitable and tedious here to tel of the divers uſe of this word *ſpirit*, in Scripture: ſome take it in this place for Doctors of ſpirituall things, and ſo πνεύματα πλάνα, or as ſome read πλάνης ſhould be Doctors of errour.

But I had rather take Spirits in this place for doctrines themſelves, for ſo Divines obſerve it to be uſed 1 *Joh.* 4. 1. μὴ παντὶ πνεύματι πιστεύετε beleeve not every ſpirit, *i.e.* every doctrine ἀλλὰ δοκιμάζετε τὰ πνεύματα but try the ſpirits

מעותא and משתא *i. e.* πλάνη, *Chaldaïs & Targumiſta eſt Idolum, &* מעא πλανᾶσθαι *eſt Idola colere & ſcortari.* Rom. 1. 27. 2 Pet. 2. 18. 2 Theſ. 2. 18.

εἰ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν if they be of God: ὅτι πολλοὶ ψευδοπροφῆται ἐξεληλύθασιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, because many false Prophets, &c. and so onward in that chapter πνεύματα τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου signifies the false doctrine of Antichrist; so if this sense be admitted, wee are something lesse in suspense than we were, and may guesse that this revolt should not be *totall* but *hereticall*, for wee shall not easily finde the word *spirit* to be otherwise used but either for the doctrines or Doctors of Christianity, or for heresies under the same: It seemes therefore to be some revolt from Christ by Idolatry, even in those who would seeme to worship him.

But suppose it be so, yet still are we in suspence what these erroneous and idolatrous doctrines might be: For Idolatry, as we may see in the Jewish apostasies, was of divers kindes, as worshipping the host of Heaven, *Baalim*, and the Gentiles other things besides them. But wee shall not be long in doubt, the next words will cleare the case, and tell us they shall bee διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων doctrines of Dæmons, not which Dæmons or Devills are authours of, though it be true, as if the genitive case were active; but doctrines concerning Dæmons, the genitive case δαιμονίων being here to be taken passively, for the object of these doctrines, as in *Heb.* 6. we have διδαχὴ βαπτισμῶν doctrines of Baptismes, and doctrines of laying on of hands, of the resurrection of the dead, and eternall judgement, and doctrines about and concerning all these; and the same use may elsewhere be found even with the word *Doctrine*, as *Acts* 13. 12. διδαχὴ τοῦ κυρίου the doctrine of the Lord, *i. e.* concerning him; so *Titus* 2. 10. and *Gal.* 2. 20. we have πίστις τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, the faith of the Sonne of God, *i. e.* concerning him *. Semblably in my Text διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων are doctrines of Dæmons or *Doctrine Deasirorum*, that is, the Gentiles idolatrous Theology of Dæmons should be revived among Christians: for I take the word δαιμόνιον or δαίμων (for all is one) not in that worst sense, which no authour but the

διδασκαλία ματαίων Ier. 10. 8.

* So πίστις τῷ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ Acts 3. 16. Phil 3. 9. πίστις χριστοῦ πίστις ἀληθείας 2 Thes. 2. 13.

the Scripture uſeth, but in the better and more indifferent ſenſe, as it was ſuppoſed and taken among the Theologiſts and Philoſophers of the Gentiles, and as it is alſo ſometimes taken in Scripture, as I ſhall ſhew in due time.

Mean while let us firſt ſee what the Gentiles and their Theologiſts underſtood by Dæmons: which when you have heard, I doubt not but you will confeſſe the deifying and worſhipping of Saints and Angels, with other parts of their Idolatry, which doe this, to be as lively an image of the doctrine of Dæmons as could poſſibly be expreſſed; and ſuch a one, as whereby the apoſtaſie of the later times is as by a character diſtinguiſhed from the hereſies, falſe doctrines, and corruptions of all other times whatſoever.

Dæmons, in the Gentiles Theology, were *Deaſtri* or an inferiour ſort of deified powers, as a middle betweene the Soveraigne Gods and mortall men: ſo ſaith *Plato in Sympoſio* Πᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον μεταξὺ ἐστὶ θεοῦ τε καὶ θνητοῦ: ſo ſay all the Platoniſts, and well nigh all other ſects of Philoſophers; Iam ſure moſt doe: for it is a very ancient doctrine, inſomuch that *Plutarch* (*de deffectu Oraculorum*) fetcheth this diſtinction betweene θεοὶ, *i.e.* Soveraign Gods, and Dæmons, as farre as the antiquity of *Zoroaſter*; *magnas & difficiles dubitationes* (ſaith he) *videntur ſolviſſe qui τὸ δαιμόνιον γένος, medio inter Deos & homines loco conſtituerunt, & quod nos cum his quodammodo conciliat & conjungit, invenerint, ſive hæc Magorum, & Zoroaſtris doctrina ſit, ſive Thracica ab Orpheo perfecta, ſive Ægyptiaca ſive Phrygica, &c.* The Soveraigne or higheſt Gods which amongſt them were properly called θεοὶ, were thoſe whom they ſuppoſed to be in the Heavens, yea in the Sunne, Moon, and Starres, whence they called them *Dii Superi, Dii Cœleſtes*, whom they affirmed to have neither begining nor ending, as *Apuleius* ſpeaks *de Dæmonio Socr. Immortales ſine ullo vel fine vel exordio, ſed prorſus à retro æviterni.* And becauſe they dwelt in the hea-

venly lights, as it were soules in bodies, *Plato* thinks the name Θεοὶ first came *quasi* ἀεὶ θέοντα καὶ ἴοντα δρόμῳ of the everlasting running and unceſſant motion of the heavenly bodies, *Plat. in Cratylo.*

Now theſe Soveraigne Celeſtiall Gods they ſuppoſed ſo ſublime and pure as might not bee prophaned with approach of earthly things, or with the care or mannaging of mortall mens buſineſſes; and therefore they bring in that middle ſort of divine Powers which they call Δαίμονες or Δαιμόνια to be as mediatours and agents betweene the Soveraigne Gods and mortall men: thus ſaith *Plato* in his *Sympoſium* Θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ οὐ μίγνυται ἀλλὰ διὰ Δαιμονίων πᾶσα ἡ ὁμιλία, καὶ ἡ διάλεκτος καὶ Θεοῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπους God is not approached by men, but all the commerce and inter-courſe betweene Gods and men is performed by the mediations of Dæmons. Will you ſee the particulars Τὸ Δαιμόνιον (ſaith he) ἑρμηνεῦον καὶ διακονοῦν θεοῖς τὰ παὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀνθρώποις τὰ παὶ θεῶν τῶν μὲν τὰς δεήσεις καὶ θυσίας τῶν δὲ τὰς ἐπιταξεις, καὶ ἀμοιβὰς τῶν θυσιῶν; Dæmons are reporters and carriers from men to the Gods, and againe from the Gods to men; of the ſupplications and prayers of the one, and of the injunctions and rewards of devotion from the other. And *Apuleius* in the place forequoted deſcribes them, *media poteſtates per quas & deſideria noſtra & merita ad Deos commeant, inter mortales Cœlicolaſque vectores, hinc precum, inde donorum; qui ultrò citróque portant hinc petitiones, inde ſuſpetias ſeu quidam utrinque interpretes & ſalutigeri:* For, ſaith he, *neque enim pro majeſtate Deûm Cœleſtium fuerit hæc curare*, it beſeems not the majeſty of the Soveraigne Gods to mannage theſe things of themſelves. Whence it is that *Celſus* in Origen tearmes his Dæmons *ſummi Dei Satrapas, præſides, procuratores, Duces, qui neglecti non minùs ladere poſſunt, quàm Perſarum, Romanorumve Regis Satrapæ, præſides, miniſtri, &c. lib. 8. contra Celſum. pag.* 940. Where note by the way, that

Celſus

Celsus as some others did, acknowledges but one Soveraigne God.

By reason of this office of mediation, *Plutarch* calls the order of Dæmons τὴν ἑρμηνευτικὴν καὶ διακονικὴν φύσιν. Also ὑπηρέτας καὶ γραμματεῖς ὀπίσχοντας ἱερῶν καὶ μυστηρίων &c. agreeable to the doctrine of *Plato, lib. de defec. Oracul.* the order of agents, and ministers &c. To stay no longer here, take the summe of all in the words of *Apuleius* in the book forenamed, *cuncta Cœlestium voluntate, numine, & autoritate fiunt, sed Dæmonum obsequio, opera, & ministerio.* And if I should bring all which I might to this purpose, I should be too tedious. *Porphyrius* in *Eusebius, Plutarch,* skillfull men in this kinde of Philosophy, will satisfie them fully, to whom this is not sufficient. This was the Oecumenicall Philosophy of the Apostles times, and of the times long before them: *Thales, Pythagoras,* all the Academicks and Stoicks, and not many to be excepted, unlesse the Epicures, taught this Divinity. Hee that had rather read a Father of the Church, let him but turne over the eighth and ninth books of S. *Austin de Civ. Dei,* the eighteenth chap er of the former book, having this Title; *Qualis sit religio in qua docetur, quod homines ut commendentur Diis, bonis Dæmonibus uti debeant Advocatis:* of the one and twenty chapter this, *An Dæmonibus nuntiis & interpretibus Dii utantur?* And of the ninth chapter of the ninth book the Title is this, *An amicitia Cœlestium Deorum per intercessionem Dæmonum possit homini provideri?* And of the seventeenth chapter this, *Ad consequendam vitam beatam non tali mediatore indigere hominem qualis est Dæmon, sed tali qualis est unus Christus.* The reading of which Titles alone were sufficient to shew what was the supposed office of the Dæmons among the Gentiles.

This Philosophy therefore so generall was that, without doubt, whereof S. *Paul* admonisheth the Colossians to take heed lest they were spoyled with the vaine deceipt

thereof, as being after traditions of men, and rudiments of the world, and not after Christ. For some Christians even then under a pretence of humility, of not approaching too neerly and too boldly to God, would have brought in the worshiping of Angels in stead of this of Dæmons; but S. *Paul* tells them, that as in Christ dwelleth the fulnesse of the Godhead bodily, so that he needed no colleagues of mediation; so also were they compleat in him, and needed therefore no agents besides him. *Let no man therefore* (saith he) *beguile you of your reward through humilty, and worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seene, and not holding the head.*

Neither is the holy Scripture ignorant of this distinction of Soveraigne Gods and Dæmons: the first whereof the Celestiall and Soveraigne Gods, whether visible or invisible, it calls צבא השמים the Host of heaven; The other sort it stileth by the name of *Baalim*, that is, *Domini*, or Lords. And *Manasses* the king of Idolaters was compleat for both of them: so we read 2 *Chron.* 33.3. that he reared up Altars for *Baalim*, and made groves, and worshipped all the Hoast of heaven, and served them: and 2 *King.* 23.5. that good *Josiah* is said to have put down all the Idolatrous Priests which burnt incense to *Baal*, to the Sunne, and to the Moon, and to the Planets, and to all the hoast of heaven: now that these Baalims were no other than Dæmon-gods, appeares by their cutting and launcing themselves, who worshipped them: 1 *King.* 18. for these tragyck ceremonies are counted by those who treat about these mysteries, as certaine characters of Dæmons: but this you shall have further confirmed in due place, where the arguments may bee better understood.

Numb. 25. the Midianites called the people to the sacrifices of their Gods, and the people did eate. And Israel joyned himselfe to Baal Peor: But Psal. 106. it is said, they joyned themselves unto Baal Peor and ate the sacrifices of the dead.

Deut. 32. 17. In the prophetical song of Israels Apostasie, they sacrificed unto Dæmons, not to God; to gods whom they knew not, to new ones that came newly up, whom the Fathers feared not. The Seventy Δαιμονίοις Heb. לשדים לא אלוה

For

For cutting and launcing were funerall rites, as appeares Levit. 25. 5. and chap. 19. 28. and Deut. 14. 1. Ier. 48. 37. and chapter 16. 6. and therefore retained in the funerall worship (as they call it) of those that were deified after death: *quære*; did not God forbid his people this rite because abused to Dæmon Idolatry? yet did some transgresse it, as Ier. 41. 5. *Moses* body therefore hidden.

Vide Isa. 65. 4 *Idolatræ in sepulchris. Item cap.* 8. *ver.* 19. *pro vivis ad mortuos. Loc.* Isa. 8. 19. *Targ. vertit nonne hæc via enim populorum colentium Idolam. Unusquisque populus ad idolum suum requirit, vivi a mortuis*: the Seventy *sic*: οὐκ ἐθνὸς πρὸς θεὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἐκζητήσεται. τί ἐκζητήσουσι περὶ τῶν ζώντων τοὺς νεκρούς. *Loc.* Es. 63. 3. 4 *Targ. sic*; *in locis sacrificant Idolis & adolent aromata super lateres.* 4. *Qui habitant in domibus, quæ edificantur de pulvere sepulcrorum* מעפר *& cum cadaveribus filiorum hominum moriuntur.* Seventy, αὐτοὶ θυσιάζουσιν ἐν τοῖς κήποις, καὶ θυμιῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς πλίνθοις τοῖς δαιμονίοις, ἃ οὐκ εἰσι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις κοιμῶνται δι' ἐνύπνια.

This distinction also of Soveraign Gods and Dæmons, I suppose our Apostle alludes to, 1 *Cor.* 8. 5. where he saith, though there be many that be called gods, whether in heaven, or in earth; as there be θεοὶ πολλοὶ gods many, that is, *Dii Cœlestes* Soveraigne Deities, καὶ κύριοι πολλοὶ Lords many, *i. e.* Δαίμονες ἐπιχθόνιοι Dæmons Presidents of earthly things; yet to us Christians there is but εἷς θεὸς, one Soveraigne God the Father, of whom are all things, and we to him, that is, to whom as supreame, we direct all our services; and but εἷς Κύριος one Lord Jesus Christ, in stead of their many mediators and Dæmons, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ, by whom are all things which come from the Father to us, and through whom alone we finde accesse to him. The allusion, me thinks, is passing elegant, and such as I think cannot be well understood without this distinction of superiour and inferiour Deities in the Theology of the Gentiles, they having a plurality in both sorts; and we Christians but one in each, as our Apostle affirmeth; there wants but only the name of Dæmons, in stead of which the Apostle puts Lords, and that for the honour of Christ, of whom he was to inferre εἷς κύριος, the name of Christ being not to be polluted with the appellation of an Idol: for his Apodosis must have beene otherwise εἷς δαίμων:

or may bee hee alludes unto the Hebrew name *Baalim*, which signifies Lords: and those Lords, as I told you, were nothing else but Dæmons; for thus would S. *Paul* speak in the Hebrew tongue, there are בעלים רבים and אלהים רבים many Gods and many Lords.

And thus have I shewed you, though but briefly in regard of the abundance the argument would afford, the nature and office of these Dæmons according to the doctrine of the Gentiles: I come now unto another part of this doctrine, which concernes the originall of Dæmons, whom you shall finde to be the deified soules of men after death; for the canonizing of the soules of deceased worthies is not now first devised among Christians, but was an idolatrous trick even from the dayes of the elder world, so that the devill, when he brought in this Apostaticall doctrine amongst Christians, swarved but little from his ancient method of seducing mankinde.

Tertull. *Idolatria parentationis est species, cap. 12.*

Let *Hesiod* speak in the first place, as being of the most knowne the most ancient, he tells us that when those happy men of the first and golden age of the world were departed this life, great *Jupiter* promoted them to bee Dæmons, that is, keepers, and protectors, or patrons of earthly mortalls, and overseers of their good and evill works, givers of riches; and this, saith he, is the kingly royalty given them. But heare his owne words:

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ μοῖρα τόδε γένος ἐκάλυψεν,
Τοὶ μὲν ΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ ἐσθλοὶ Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς
Ἐσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.
Οἱ ῥα φυλάσσουσί δίκας, καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα
Ἠέρα ἑσσάμενοι πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,
Πλουτοδόται· καὶ τόδε γέρας βασιλήϊον ἔσχον.

And hence it is that *Oenomaus*, quoted by *Eusebius*, calleth these Dæmon-gods Ἡσιόδειοι θεοὶ *Hesiods* gods.

The next shall be *Plato*, who in his Cratylus sayes, that

that *Hesiod*, and a great number of the rest of the Poets, speak excellently, when they affirme that good men when they die attaine great honour and dignity, and become Δαίμονες, which is (saith he) as much to say as Δαήμονες καὶ φρονιμοι, that is, wise ones; for wise ones (saith he) are only good ones, and all good ones are of *Hesiods* golden generation.

The same *Plato, de Repub.* would have all those who die valiantly in the field, to be accounted of the golden kinde, and Δαίμονες *effici*, to be made Dæmons, and the oracle to bee consulted, how they should be buried and honoured; and accordingly ever afterwards ὡς Δαιμονίων ὄντω θεραπεύσομεν τὲ καὶ προσκυνήσομεν αὐτῶν τὰς θήκας, *i. e.* their sepulchers to be served and adored as the sepulchers of Dæmons: In like manner should be done unto all who in their life time excelled in vertue, whether they died through age or otherwise: this place *Eusebius* quotes (*lib.* 14. *Prep. Evang.*) to paralell with it the then harmelesse practice of Christians, in honouring the memory of Martyrs, by holding their assemblies at their sepulchers; to the end that he might shew the Gentiles, that Christians also honoured their worthies in the worthiest fashion. But would to God that in the next ages after, this custome of Christians then but resembling, had not proved the very same doctrine of Dæmons which the Gentiles practised.

But I goe on, and my next authour shall be *Hermes Trismegistus*, whose antiquity is said to be very neere the time of *Moses*; I will translate you his words out of his *Asclepius* which *Apuleius* made latine. There having named *Æsculapius*, *Osyris*, and his grandfather *Hermes*, who were (as he saith) worshipped for Dæmons in his owne time; he addes further, that the Ægyptians call them (namely the Dæmons) *Sancta animalia*, and that amongst them (namely the Ægyptians) *per singulas Civitates coli eorum animas, quorum sunt consecrata virtutes.*

And

And here note by the way, that ſome are of opinion, that the Ægyptian *Serapis*, whoſe Idoll had a buſhell upon his head, was *Joſeph*, whoſe ſoule the Ægyptians had canonized for a Dæmon after his death.

Philo Byblius the tranſlator of *Sanchuniathon* the ancient Phænician Hiſtorian, who lived before the times of *Troy*, and wrote the Acts of *Moſes*, and the Jewes (ſaith *Euſebius*) very agreeable to the Scripture, and ſaith, he learned his ſtory of *Ierom-baal* a Prieſt of the God IEVO: *Philo Byblius* (I ſay) in a preface to his tranſlation of this Author, ſetteth downe what he had obſerved, and learned out of the ſame ſtory, and might ſerve to help their underſtanding who ſhould read it: namely, that all the Barbarians, cheifly the Phænicians and Ægyptians, of whom the reſt had it, accounted of thoſe for *Dii maximi*, who had found out any thing profitable for the life of man, or had deſerved well of any nation, and that they worſhipped theſe as Gods, erecting Statues, Images, and Temples unto them, and more eſpecially they gave the names of their Kings (as to the elements of the world, ſo alſo) to theſe their reputed Gods: for they eſteemed the naturall Deities of the Sunne, Moon, and Planets, and thoſe which are in theſe, to be only and properly Gods: ſo that they had two ſorts of gods, ſome were Immortals, and others were Mortals.

Thus ſaith *Philo Byblius* out of the Phænician Hiſtory, from which teſtimony we may borrow ſome more light concerning thoſe Baalims in Scripture. * For *Baal* or *Belus*, whoſe worſhip *Iezabell* the daughter of *Ithabaal* King of *Tyre* brought into Iſrael, was a deified Phænician King of that name, as *Virgil* will tell us in that verſe concerning the Phænician Queene *Dido*: *Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus & omnes A Belo ſoliti, &c.*

* Hieron. *in cap. 23. Ezech. Idolum autem* Baal *ſive* Bel, *Aſſyriorum religio eſt, conſecrata a Nino Belis filio in honorem patris.*

Idem in Hoſ. cap. 2. Ninus in tantam pervenit gloriam ut patrem ſuum Belum referret in Deum, qui Hebraicè dicitur בעל *& in multis prophetis, maximeque in Daniele: Et juxta Theodoſionem ſub Idolo Babylonis hoc appellatur nomine, Hunc Sidonii, & Phœnices appellant,* בעל

Nay

Nay, *Baal*, or in the Chaldee Dialect, *Bel* (for all is one) was the first King of *Babel* after *Nimrod*, and the first (as is written) that ever was deified and reputed a God after death; whence afterward they called all other Dæmons *Baalim*; even as because the first Roman Emperour was called *Cæsar*, thence were all the Emperours after him stiled *Cæsars*: and it may be this is part of that which *Philo Biblius* out of *Sancuniathon* would tell us; That the Barbarians, especially the Phænicians, &c. gave names from their Kings to such as were canonized after death: For so we see here that the Babilonians, and the neighbouring Countries, which spake the Hebrew tongue, or some Dialect thereof, called all Dæmons *Baalim*, of the first Dæmon, or deified King in the world, *Baal*, or *Belus*: for at that time when *Belus* reigned in *Babel*, was *Phænicia*, with the neighbour people, under the kingdome of *Babel*: Whence may seeme also to have come their community of language and ceremonies; and here note a wonderfull mystery, that old *Babel*, the first pattern in the world of ambitious Dominion, was also the Foundresse of Idols, and the Mother of the fornication, and abominations of the earth.

Eusebii Chron. Chronicon Alexandrinum seu Fasti siculi. Hieron. paulo post locum proximè citatum. Didicimus, inquit exordium Dæmonis, imo hominis in Dæmonem consecrati: Omnia enim Idola ex mortuorum errore creverunt. Idem in c. 46. Isa. Quem (i.e. Baal) Græci Belum, Latini Saturnum dicunt, cujus tanta fuit apud veteres religio ut ei non solum humanas hostias captivorum, ignobiliumque mortalium, sed & suos liberos immolarunt. Cyrillus contra Iulianum versus finem, Primus (inquit) regnavit in Assyriorum terrâ, ἀνὴρ ἀλάζων καὶ ὑπέροφρυς ἄρα Βῆλος, vir superbus, & arrogans, Belus qui & primus hominum dicitur à subditis nomen Deitatis accepisse; hic interpres vitiosè transfert Arbelus, & ubi mox sequitur εἶτα Βῆλου γέγονεν ὁ Νῖνος Interpres Arbeli, &c. Lactant. de fals. relig c. 23. & ult. originem Idolatriæ ad Belum refert.

And because we have fallen upon the naming of Dæmons, let us observe another mystery of names, out of *Plutarch (de defect. Orac.)* which may helpe us out, or prevent some difficulties, namely, that Dæmons are sometimes called by the names of those Celestiall gods, whose Ministers and Proctors they are, and from whom they receive their power and Divinity: As *Apollo's* Dæmon, *Apollo*; *Iupiter's* Dæmon, *Iupiter*, and so the rest. Ὦ γὰρ

[illegible] *Sicut & nostrum alius Iovis, alius Minervius, alius Mercurialis, &c. habetur.*

Thus *Plutarch*, with *Cleomyrtus* there saith, he learned of a wonderful and profound Egyptian Hermite, who lived about the red Sea, &c.

To which is agreeable what *Eusebius Propar. Evang. lib. 1. cap. 2.* quotes out of *Diodorus*, viz. *Aegyptios asserere mortales multos propter beneficia in Deos relatos, & eorum aliquos cœlestibus Dis cognomine.*

The same *Plutarch* in the same place doth acquaint us with this pretty conceit, which being to the purpose I will not omit: namely, that the souls of men tooke degrees after death, first they commenced Heroes, who were as Probationers to a Dæmonship; then after a time sufficient, Demons; and after that, if they deserved well, to a more sublime degree. How soever it be, Dæmons, and Heroes differed but in more, and lesse antiquity, the more antient Heroes, being called Dæmons, and the younger Dæmons Heroes.

[illegible]

But that we may returne againe more close to the matter in hand, this order of Dæmons, or soule-gods, as I may call them, found place in the Religion of the elder Romans, who called them *Penates*, *Lares*, and *Manes Dii*; and when once they began to canonize their deceased Emperors, which was from the time of *Augustus*, they called them *Divi*, which word before that time was more generall. *Tully* in his second booke *de Legibus*, shall be my witnesse, that his country men acknowledged this distinction of Soveraigne Gods, and Soule-deified powers, for there you shall finde this law; *Divos & eos, qui cœlestes semper habiti, colunto; & illos, quos in cœlum merita voluerint.* And againe, *Deorum Manium jura, sancta sunto. Hos ietho Datos Divos habento*; would God the present Christian Romans had not renewed this Law.

Yea

Yea, so strongly was this doctrine embraced amongst the Gentiles, that some of their later Theologists thought, that even the soules of wicked men and Tyrants had a power after death, and that of these came *mali Dæmones*, which hurt men; and yet to these they ordained Temples, and sacrifices to keepe them from hurting them, as well as to the good Dæmons for helping them; but the Ancients gave this honour to the soules of vertuous men onely.

Thus have you heard the originall of Dæmons, according to the most ancient, and generall opinion of the Gentiles. But besides these Dæmons, whose originall you have heard, I meane besides soule-Dæmons, and canonized mortals; their Theologists bring in another kinde of Dæmons more high and sublime, which never had beene the soules of men, nor ever were linkt to a mortall body, but were from the beginning, or without beginning, alwayes the same *. So *Apuleius* tels us in the booke forenamed; *Est & superius aliud augustiusque Dæmonum genus, qui semper à corporis compedibus, & nexibus liberi certis potestatibus curentur, Ex hac sublimiori Dæmonum copiâ autumat Plato singulis hominibus in vitâ agendâ, testes & custodes singulos additos.* This sort of Dæmons doth fitly answer and parallel that sort of spirituall powers, which we call Angels, as the former of soule-Dæmons doth those, which with us are called Saints.

But lest I might seeme to have no measure in raking up this Ethnicall dung-hill, I will now leave the Theologie of the originall of Dæmons, and shew you yet another piece of that doctrine of Dæmons, namely, concern-

* *Plutarch. de defect. Orac.* in the person of *Amonius* the Philosopher makes two sorts of Dæmons, ἅι διακριθεῖσαι σώματος, ἢ μὴ μετασχέσαι τὸ παράπαν, ψῦχαι, soules separate from bodies, or such as never dwelt in bodies at all: Though both these sorts have the name of Dæmons given them in common, yet are these which were the soules of men, otherwhile for distinctions sake called Heroes, (*Plutarch de Plac. Philos. c.* 8.) though some extend not this name in generall to all, but onely to such as are either of an inferiour ranke, or but novices, not yet promoted to the office of Dæmons; as Punies, not yet called to the barre.

ἕκαστος Θεῷ συτέτακται καὶ παρ' οὗ δυνάμεως καὶ τιμῆς εἴληκεν, ἀπὸ τούτου φιλεῖ καλεῖσθαι; *Sicut & nostrum alius Iovius, alius Minervius, alius Mercurialis, &c. dicitur.*

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Dii Animales de quibus Labeo libros scripserat, in quibus aiebat (verba Servii) esse quædam sacra quibus animæ vertantur in deos, qui appellantur animales, quòd de animis fiant.

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ing the manner how Dæmons were to be worſhipped, and as it were brought to the lure of men, when they had occaſion of devotion with them. And this was done by ſacring of Images; this you ſhall heare from an ancient Authour, and paſſing skilfull in the myſteries, even *Hermes Triſmegiſtus*, who in his *Aſclepius* ſpeaketh, in Engliſh, thus, It is a wonder (ſaith he) beyond all wonders, (and he ſaith truly) that man ſhould finde out a way to make Gods: Yet becauſe (ſaith he) our forefathers erred much through unbeliefe concerning Deities, and had ſmall regard of Religion, and Divine worſhip, therefore they deviſed an art to make Gods (he meaneth Images) and becauſe they could not make ſoules (he meanes to theſe ſenſleſſe bodies) therefore they called the ſoules of Dæmons, and Angels, and put them into their Images, and holy myſteries, by which meanes alone theſe Images have power of helping, and hurting; which thus incorporated (he ſaith) are called by the Egyptians, *Animalia ſancta*. And in another place, that kinde of Gods (ſaith he) which men make, is compoſed of two natures, of a divine, which is firſt and more ſacred; and of that which is amongſt men, namely, the matter whereof they are made. The ſumme of all this myſtery is, that Images were made as bodies, to be informed with Dæmons as with ſoules: For an Image was a trap to catch Dæmons, and a deviſe to tie them to a place, and to keepe them from flitting.

Vid. Athenag. Legat. pro Chriſt. in Biblioth. Patr. p. 133. 6. qui dicunt non alio modo homines conuenire deos poſſe, ſcil. quam per ſimulachra.

Tertul. de Idol c. 7. Artifices Idolorum Dæmoniis corpora conſerre.

The like hath *Euſebius* out of *Porphyrie*, *Imagines à Diis peramari, iiſdemq́, circumſcribi, quaſi in ſacrâ quâdam terrâ in ſacratâ imagine contineri; quâ ſublatâ, illud ſtatim ſolvitur, quo Deus continetur.* This is that which *Pſellus* calleth προσσχολησις Δαιμονων, the approaching or preſencing of Dæmons. And *Iamblychus* termeth theſe conſecrated Idols, Αγαλματα Θειας μετουσιας ἐμπλεα, Images filled with divine fellowſhip, or with divine ſociety. And our fore-mentioned *Hermes* calleth them *Statuas animatas ſenſu & ſpiritu plenas.*

Hence

Hence came that anſwer, or defence of the Gentiles, as *Arnobius* (*lib. 6. adverſ. Gent.*) makes them ſpeake, *Neque nos ara, argenti materias aurique, neque alia quibus ſigna conficiunt, eas eſſe per ſe Deos, & religioſa diſcernimus numina; Sed eos in his colimus, eſſque veneramur, quos dedicatio infert ſacra, & fragilibus efficit habitare ſimulachris.* And in another place he makes this objection for their behalfe; *An numquid dicitis forte præſentiam vobis quandam ſub his numinum exhiberi ſimulachris, & quia Deos videre non datum eſt, eos ita coli, & munia officioſa præſtari?* And thus have we ſeene the ground of the idolatrous uſe of Images, and found that the worſhip of them alſo is a doctrine of Dæmons: for as at firſt they were ordained for Dæmons, ſo whatſoever Deity is worſhipped in this manner, though it were the true, and Soveraigne God, is thereby made a Dæmon.

What I ſay of Images, muſt be underſtood alſo of Pillars, and Columnes, whereof we read, *Levit.* 26. *Yee ſhall make no Idols, nor graven Images, nor reare you up a pillar to bow downe unto it*: for howſoever Pillars and Images, through ſome confuſion, at length ſurprizing the Gentiles ſuperſtition, may afterwards ſeeme to be aſcribed to other Deities beſides Dæmons; yet by originall inſtitution they were proper unto Dæmons, and no other. The ſoveraigne, and celeſtiall gods, they were worſhipped in the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, where they were ſuppoſed to dwell, but Images, and Columnes were for Dæmons; and if they ſeemed to be made for any other, *Plutarch's* Hermite would reſolve us, that they were but Dæmons, called by the name of ſome ſoveraigne gods, whoſe Agents they were. The truth of this, the Hiſtory of the beginning of Idolatry makes evident; for that Images and Pillars were at firſt deviſed and erected to the honour of dead men [a]; this the fourteenth Chapter of the booke of *Wiſdome* will tell us, that

[a] *Vide Herod. Clio. c. 131. Perſas ſtatuas non erigere, quodnam ut Græci ſentiunt Deos ex hominibus eſſe ortos; ex opinione Herod.*

that by the vain-glory of men they first entred into the world; no lesse will the long continuing custome of the world, using thus to honour not onely the dead, but since also the living, be sufficient to perswade the truth: *Minutius Felix* in his *Octavius*, will put us forth of doubt, *Majores nostri* (saith he) *dum Reges suos colunt religiosè, dum defunctos eos desiderant in Imaginibus videre, dum gestiunt eorum memorias in statuis detinere, sacra facta sunt, quæ fuerant assumpta solatia.* When therefore those whom they thus honoured and remembred, were canonized for Dæmons, then were these memorials also worshipped for some supposed presence, or divine respect of such Dæmons, in or to them. The worshipping therefore of Images, and Columnes, is by its originall and institution, a piece of the doctrine of Dæmons *; so that whatsoever is thus worshipped, yea, the glory of the incorruptible God himselfe is thereby changed into a Dæmon.

Thus much of Images and Idoll-Pillars, of the reason of their supposed Divinity, and of the originall, and first occasion of worshipping them. But yet we have not done, there is another piece of Dæmon-devotion yet behinde, namely, the worshipping of Dæmons in their reliques, shrines and sepulchres *, for this was also a part of the doctrine, and Theologie of Dæmons. *Plato*, whom before we quoted for the Canonizing of Dæmons, of the ghosts of such as died valiantly in the field, would have their shrines and coffins to be worshipped, ὡς Δαιμόνων σήματα, as the coffins of Dæmons: here also what *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks of this Dæmon-doctrine, *Strom. lib. 6. Existimant (scil. Græci) nihil referre an has animas (scil. Dæmones quos invocant) Deos, an Angelos dicamus: Jam verò qui sunt eorum doctrinæ periti in multis Templis tanquam Deorum statuas, omnes ferè mortuorum loculos posuêre, Dæmones quidem vocantes eorum animas, eas autem coli ab hominibus docentes, ut quæ divinâ providentiâ*

* *Nam quod potest intelligentiâ solum provideri & comprehendi mente nec appetit formam, quâ cognoscatur, nec figuram admittit, ut imaginem & effigiem. Verum ista omnia ad gratiam mortuorum referuntur: dum enim vixerunt homines, erant corporum compagibus inclusi, Lactantius. Orat ad Sanctorum Cœtum c. 4.*

* *In mortuorum Idolis Dæmonia consistunt. Tertul. vide de Spectac. cap 11, 12, 13. fere totum.*

providentiâ propter vitæ puritatem, poteſtatem acceperint, ut ad hominum miniſteriums, locum qui eſt circa terram, obirent: ſciebant enim aliquas animas ex naturâ corpora teneri. Out of which words obſerve, that they ſuppoſed the like preſences, and power of Dæmons at their coffins and ſepulchres, which before we obſerved and heard of in their Images, as though there alwayes remained ſome naturall tie between the ſoules deceaſed, and their reliques, and therefore they there builded Temples unto them, where their bodies, and aſhes were entombed; and hence it is that the Primitive Fathers which write againſt the Gentiles, do ſo often upbraid them, that their Temples were nothing elſe but the ſepulchres of dead men; *Specioſo quidem nomine* (ſaith *Clemens* in his *Protrepticon*) *Templa dici, fuiſſe autem ſepulchra, id eſt ſepulchra ipſa vocata fuiſſe Templa.* He goeth on ſpeaking to the Gentiles; *Vos autem vel nunc ſaltem Dæmonum cultus obliviſcamini, ſepulchra colere erubeſcentes.* To the like purpoſe *Arnobius lib. 6. adverſ. Gent. Quid quod multa ex his Templa, quæ tholis ſunt aureis, & ſublimibus elata faſtigiis, auctorum conſcriptionibus comprobatur contegere cineres, atque oſſa, & functorum eſſe, corporum ſepulturas? Nonne patet & promptum eſt aut pro Diis immortalibus mortuos vos colere, aut inexpiabilem fieri Numinibus contumeliam, quorum delubra & Templa mortuorum ſuperlata ſunt buſtis?*

I might further adde to theſe Oecumenicall doctrines of Dæmons, that monſtrous one of the Egytians, for which their fellow Gentiles derided them, who worſhipped living bruit beaſts, yea, onyons and garlick, and water it ſelfe, with divine worſhip, as ſuppoſing ſome Dæmon or other to dwell in them; ſuch were their Cow-god *Apis*, and their Bull-god *Mnevis*, and their Water-god *Nilus*, which it ſhall be enough onely to have named, to make the former compleat, and that from it, and the reſt of that kinde of abominations, we may gather this concluſion once for all, that ſince the Soveraigne and

and Celestiall gods, (as you heard before) might not be approached nor polluted by these earthly and materiall things, but kept alwayes immoveable, without change of place or presence, their heavenly stations; therefore the adoring or worshipping of any visible or materiall thing, for any supposed presence, or other relation of a divine power therewith, is to be accounted amongst the doctrines of Dæmons.

And thus have you seene the Theologie of Dæmons; first, for their nature and degree, to have beene supposed by the Gentiles an inferiour, and middle sort of divine powers, betweene the soveraigne, and heavenly gods, and mortall men. Secondly, their office to be as Mediators and agents betweene these soveraigne Gods, and men. Thirdly, their originall, to be the deified soules of worthy men after death; and some of an higher degree, which had no beginning, or ever were imprisoned in mortall bodies. Fourthly, the way to worshipthem, to finde and receive benefits from them, namely, by consecrate Images and Pillars, wherein to have, and retaine their presence at devotions to be given them. Fifthly, to adore their reliques, and to Temple them.

Now therefore judge impartially whether Saint *Pauls* propheſie be not fulfilled already amongst Christians, who foretold that the time should come that they should Apostatize and revive againe Διδασκαλίας Δαιμονίων, Doctrines of Dæmons? whether the deifying and worshipping of Saints, and Angels, whether the bowing downe to Images, whether of men, or other things visible, breaden Idols, and Crosses like new Dæmon-Pillars, whether the adoring or templing of reliques, whether these make not as lively an image of the Gentiles Theologie of Dæmons (Διδασκαλίαι Δαιμονίων) as possibly could be expressed? and whether these two words comprehend not the whole pith and marrow of Christian Apostasie, which was to consist in spirituall fornication or idolatry, as appeares

appeares by that name and denomination thereof given by Saint *John* in his *Revelation*, *The whore of Babylon!* Is not ſhe rightly termed the Babyloniſh whore, which hath revived and replanted the doctrines of Dæmons, firſt founded in the ancient *Babel*. And is not this now fulfilled which Saint *John* foretels us, *Apoc.* 11. That *the ſecond and outmoſt court of the Temple* (which is the ſecond ſtate of the Chriſtian Church) *together with the holy City, ſhould be troden downe, and overtrampled by the Gentiles* (that is, overwhelmed with the Gentiles Idolatry) forty two moneths.

But perhaps I am yet too forward in my application; ſome things in our way muſt firſt be cleared, for howſoever the reſemblance indeed be evident, yet firſt the Text ſeemes not to intend or meane it, becauſe the word Δαιμόνιον, is in the Scripture never taken in the *better or indifferent ſenſe*, howſoever prophane Authours doe ſo uſe it, but alwayes in an *evill ſenſe* for the *devill*, or an *evill ſpirit*; now the ſignification of words in Scripture is to be eſteemed and taken only according to the Scriptures uſe, though other Writers uſe them otherwiſe. Secondly, for the charge of *Idolatry*, though much of that wherein we have inſtanced, may be granted to be juſtly ſuſpected for ſuch indeed, yet nevertheleſſe, that whereupon this application mainly relieth, namely, the *praying to Saints glorified, as Mediators and Agents for us with God*, ſhould not ſeeme to deſerve ſo foule a name; for ſuppoſe it were a needleſſe, yea, and fruitleſſe Ceremony, yet what reaſon can be given why this ſhould be more tainted with *Idolatry*, then is the *like honour* given to *Saints* and *holy men* whilſt they live on earth, whom to deſire to mediate and pray to God for us, was never accounted ſo much as an *unlawfull matter*? when theſe two ſcruples are anſwered, I will returne to continue my former application.

To the firſt therefore, for the uſe of the word Δαιμόνιον

in Scripture, I say, that because those which the Gentiles tooke for *Damons*, and for *Deified soules* of their *Worthies*, were indeed no other then *evill spirits*, counterfeiting the soules of men departed, and masking themselves under the names of such supposed Dæmons, under that colour to seduce mankinde; therefore the Scripture useth the name Dæmons for that they were indeed, and not for what they seemed to be; for no blessed soule or good Angell would admit any honour which did derogate from the honour of the *onely true God*, who made them: neither doe the glorified Saints in heaven, or the blessed Angels, though Apostate Christians now invocate and worship them, accept of this honour, heare their prayers, or condescend to their devotions, by any signe or act whatsoever; but whatsoever is made seeme to be done by them, is done by the selfe same wicked spirits, which heretofore were masked under the names of Dæmons; and therefore in this regard the one may as well beare the names of Dæmons as the other, and be as likely to be intended by the use of that word. Secondly, though the Scripture often useth this word in the *worst sense*, yet followes it not it alwayes should doe so, because the word Διάβολος it selfe, which the Scripture hath appropriated to signifie *Satan the prince of hell-hounds*, following therein the Seventy (who first gave it this notion, no where els sampled in any Greek Author) yet is this word Διάβολος in the New Testament it selfe three severall times used in the common sense for a *slanderer* or *false accuser*, and that in three severall Epistles, in both to *Timothy*, and that to *Titus*; and why should the like seeme improbable for the word Δαίμων or Δαιμόνιος? Nay, most certain it is so, as I come now to make manifest.

1 Tim. 3. 11.
2 Tim. 3. 3.
Tit. 2. 3.

And first, *Act.* 17. 18. where Saint *Paul* our Apostle, having at *Athens* preached *Iesus risen from the dead*, the Philosophers thus encountred him saying, *This fellow*, Ξένων Δαιμονίων δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι, which we translate, *He seemeth to be a setter forth of strange gods*, namely,

Damon-

Dæmon-gods: for hearing of one Jesus after death to become a Lord and Saviour, and to be adored with divine worship, they tooke him presently, according to their owne principles in that kinde, to be some new or forreigne Dæmon, for so it followes in the text, that they said thus, *Because he preached unto them Iesus and the resurrection:* Upon the same ground *Celsus in Origen lib.* 8. *cont. Cels.* cals the same Christ our Saviour the Christians Dæmon; for whereas the Christians said, that they without hurt and danger blasphemed and reproached the Gentiles gods, *Celsus* replies, * *Nonne vides bone vir, quod etiam tuo Dæmoni opponens se quispiam, non solum convitiatur. sed terrâ marique illum exigit?* where *Origen* answers *Celsus*, a *Qui nullos scit malos Dæmones, nescio quomodo sui oblitus, Iesum vocârit Dæmonem.* But Saint *Paul* thus charged by the Philosophers, comming to make his Apologie in *Areopagus*, retorts their accusation, *Yee men of Athens* (saith he) *I see you in all things,* ὡς Δεισιδαιμονεστέρους, too full of Demons already, I shall not need bring any more amongst you; for thus the word Δεισιδαίμων by Etymologie signifies a worshipper of Dæmon-gods, and was anciently used in this sense; and so shall you finde it often in *Clemens Alexandrinus* his *Protrepticon* b, not to speak of others, though afterwards from signifying ἡ πρὸς τὸ Θεῖον ἀλάζεια, as *Budæus* speaks, it came to be applied to those who were too precise and anxious in their devotions: I (saith the Apostle) preach no new Dæmon unto you, but that *Soveraigne and cœlestiall God, who made the world, and all things therein, who being Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not* (as your Dæmon-gods doe) *in*

* Οὐχ ὁρᾷς οὖν, ὦ βέλτιστε, ὅτι καὶ τὸν σὸν δαίμονα καταράς τις οὐ βλασφημεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐκκηρύττε.

a Κατὰ δὲ Κέλσον μηδὲν ἐμφήναντα περὶ φαύλων δαιμόνων, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενον ἑαυτοῦ, δαίμων ὁ Ιησοῦς εἴρηται.

b Et Strom. l. 7. p. 504. Δεισιδαίμων, ὁ δεδιὼς τὰ δαιμόνια.

Lactant. lib. 4. Instit. Divin. ait, *Superstitiosi vocantur aut ii qui superstitem memoriam defunctorum colunt, aut qui parentibus suis superstites, celebrant imagines eorum domi tanquam Deos Penates. Nam qui novos sibi ritus desumebant, ut Deorum vice mortuos honorarent, quos ex hominibus in cœlum receptos putabant; hos superstitiosos vocabant. Eos verò qui publicos & antiquos Deos colerent, religiosos nominabant, unde Virgilius, Vana superstitio veterumque ignara Deorum. Martin. Lex. quem ulterius vide.*

Temples made with hands, neither is worſhipped with mens hands, as though he needed any thing (as you conceive of your Dæmons) *ſeeing he giveth to all, life, and breath, and all things:* This God I preach unto you. And this place I take to be ſo unanſwerable for the indifferent and common acception of the word Δαιμόνιον, that I care not now though the reſt ſhould faile me; but let us ſee what they are.

In *Revel.*9.13.&c. The ſixth Trumpet from *Euphrates* brings an huge army upon the Chriſtian world, which deſtroyeth a third part of men, and yet thoſe which remained *repented not* of thoſe ſinnes (*verſ.*20.) for which theſe plagues came upon the earth, *viz. That they ſhould not worſhip* Δαιμόνια, *and Idols of gold, ſilver, and braſſe, and ſtone, and of wood which can neither ſee, nor heare, nor walke.* Is not this a Comment upon the Apoſtles propheſie in my Text?

The time which it concernes muſt needs fall into the laſt times; for it is the laſt Trumpet ſave one. The place muſt be the Roman Empire, or Chriſtian world, for that is the Stage of all the Seales and Trumpets: and how could it be otherwiſe, ſeeing Saint *John* at *Pathmos* ſaw them comming from the great River *Euphrates?* whatſoever comes from thence, muſt needs fall upon the territory of the Roman Empire. To hold you no longer, the beſt Expounders make it the *Ottoman* or Turkiſh invaſion, which hath ſwallowed ſo great a part of Chriſtendome. But what people are they, who in the Roman territory, doe in theſe later times worſhip Idols of gold, ſilver, braſſe, and ſtone, and wood? Are they Ethnicks? there is none ſuch. Are they Jewes? they cannot endure the ſight of them. Are they Mahumetans? nay, they abhorre it alſo. Then muſt they needs be Chriſtians, and then muſt Chriſtians too worſhip Δαιμόνια, for both are ſpoken of the ſame men. But what Chriſtians doe, or ever did worſhip *devils* formally? But *Dæmon-gods*

(alaſſe)

(alasse) they doe, and long have done. Here therefore Δαιμόνιον is againe taken in the common and Philosophicall sense, or at least, which is all one, for evill spirits worshipped under the names of Dæmons and deceased souls.

Besides my Text, there is but one place more in all the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, where the word Δαιμόνιον is used, namely, 1 *Cor.* 10. where if there be any allusion to the Gentiles conceit of Dæmons, then all the places of Saint *Pauls* Epistles are bending that way: But some there are, saith *Stephen* in his *Thesaurus* who thinke the Apostle in his Ποτήριον Δαιμονίων, or *Cup of Dæmons*, alludes unto that *poculum ὀγαθῆ Δαίμονος*, used amongst the Gentiles. And further to strengthen the conceit of the Apostles allusion to the heathenish notion of Dæmons*, the words of the former verse make much; for *the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice* (saith he) *to Dæmons, and not to God.* Now this was the very tenet of the Gentiles, that the *Soveraigne and Cœlestiall gods* were to be worshipped onely, *pura mente, and with hymnes and praises*, and that *sacrifices* were onely for *Dæmons, vid. Porphyr. in Euseb. præp. Evang. Her. Trismeg. in Asclepio Apuleium de Dæmonio Socratis.* He therefore who had given his faith to that, Εἷς Κύριος, *One Lord*, to the ὁ μόνος Δυνάστης, to the *onely Potentate*, to the Εἷς Μεσίτης, to the *onely Mediator Jesus Christ*, must have no communion, have no part in the service of these *many Mediators, Lords or Dæmon-Gods* of the Nations; for Christs monarchicall Mediation excludes all other Mediators and Dæmons: not that the woodden Idoll was ought of it selfe, but that the Gentiles supposed there dwelt some Dæmon therein, who received their sacrifices, and to whom they intended their services. Thus may this place be expounded, and so the use of the word *Dæmon* in the *worst sense* or *directly for a Divell*, will be almost confined to the Gospel: where the subject spoken of being men vexed with evill spirits, could admit no other sense or use; and yet S. *Luke*, the best

* See Tertull. de spectac. c. 13.

beſt languaged of the Evangeliſts, knowing the word to be *ambiguous*, and therefore, as it were, to diſtinguiſh it once for all, doth, the firſt time he uſeth it, doe it with an explication, chapter 4. verſe 33. *There was*, ſaith hee, *a man in the Synagogue* ἐν πνεύμα δαιμονίου ἀκαθάρτου, *having the ſpirit of an uncleane Damon.*

Thus much of the word *Damonium* δαιμόνιον in Scripture, whereby I hope that it appeares, that this place of my Text is not the only place where the word is uſed according to the notion of the Gentiles, and their Theologiſts: But you will ſay, did any of the Fathers, or Ancients expound it thus in this place? if they had done ſo, the myſtery of iniquity could never have taken ſuch footing; which becauſe it was to come according to divine diſpoſition, what wonder if this were hidden from their eyes. Howſoever it may ſeeme that God left not his ſpirit without a witneſſe; For, as I take it, *Epiphanius*, one of the moſt zealous of the Fathers of his time againſt *Saint-worſhip* then peeping, took διδασκαλία δαιμονίων in my text for a *doctrine of worſhipping of dead men*; you may read him in the ſeventy eighth Hereſie towards the concluſion, where, upon occaſion of ſome who made a *Goddeſſe* of the *bleſſed Virgin*, and offered a cake unto her as the Queene of heaven, he quotes the place of my text concerning them, ſaying, πληρῶται γὰρ καὶ ὧδε τότε τὸ, ἀποστήσονταί τινες τῆς ὑγιοῦς διδασκαλίας, προσέχοντες μύθοις καὶ διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων. ἔσονται γὰρ, φησὶ νεκρῶν λατρεύοντες, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰσραὴλ ἐσεβόμεθον, which in Engliſh ſounds thus, *that alſo of the Apoſtle is fulfilled of theſe, ſome ſhall apoſtatize from ſound doctrine, giving heed to fables and doctrines of Damons, for* (ſaith he) *they ſhall be worſhippers of dead men, as they were worſhipped in Iſrael*; are not theſe laſt words for an expoſition of διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων? But what (will you ſay) doth he meane by dead men worſhipped in Iſrael? I ſuppoſe he meanes their *Baalim*, who (as is already ſhewed) were nothing elſe

elſe but *Dæmons*, or *deified Ghoſts of men deceaſed*: yet he brings in two examples beſides; one of the *Sichemites*, in his time, who had a *Goddeſſe* or *Dæmoneſſe* under the name of *Jephta's daughter*; another of the *Ægyptians*, who worſhipped *Thermutis*, that *daughter* of *Pharaoh*, which brought up *Moſes*. Some, as *Beza*, would have theſe words of *Epiphanius* to be a part of the text it ſelfe in ſome copy which he uſed. But how is that likely, when no other Father once mentions any ſuch reading; nay it appeares moreover, that *Epiphanius* intended to explaine the words as he quoteth them, as he doth πίστις by ὑγιὺς διδασκαλία, and πνεύματα πλάνης by μύθοι, and ſo προσέχοντες διδασκαλίαις Δαιμονίων by λατρεύοντες τοῖς νεκροῖς: Otherwiſe wee muſt ſay he uſed a very corrupt copy, or quoted very careleſly. But grant that *Epiphanius* read ſo, either this reading was true, and ſo I have enough; becauſe then the Apoſtle with his ἔσονται γὰρ &c. ſhould expound himſelfe by Δαιμόνια, to meane the deifying of the dead: or it was not the originall reading, but added by ſome other for explication ſake; and ſo it will follow, that thoſe who did it, made no queſtion, but that the words there, contained ſome ſuch thing as worſhipping the dead: Therefore take it which way you will, it will follow, that ſome ſuch matter as wee ſpeak of, was in times paſt ſuppoſed to bee in this text and propheſie.

Now I come to the ſecond point, to maintaine and prove, that *praying to Saints glorified, as mediators and agents for us with God is* juſtly charged with *Idolatry*: for this is the hinge whereupon not the application only of my text, but the interpretation thereof chiefly turneth: for this is that which I told you in the beginning, that my text depended upon the *laſt words* of the former chapter and verſe; *received into glory*: which were therefore out of their due order, put in the laſt place, becauſe my text was immediately to bee inferred upon them; the like

like mis-placing, and for the like reason, see *Heb.* 12.23[a]. where, in a catalogue or recension of the parts of the Church, *Christ the head*, and the *sprinkling of his blood*, is mentioned in the last place, and after the spirits of just men, because the next verses are continued upon this sprinkling of Christs blood: *Yee are come to the generall assembly, and Church of the first borne, which are written in heaven*, and *to God the judge of all, and to the Spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant, and to the blood of Sprinkling, which speaketh better things than that of Abel*: whereas the right order should have beene; first, *God the judge of all*: Secondly, *Christ the mediator of the new Covenant*: Thirdly, in the last place, the *Spirits of just men made perfect*; agreeable therefore to this dependance of my text I am to shew, that the *Invocation of Saints glorified* implyes an *Apostasie from Christ*, and a deniall of his *glory* and *majesty* whereunto hee is *installed* by his *assumption into heaven, to sit at the right hand of God*: which before I doe, I must premise some generall grounds, which are as followeth.

That as *God* is *most one*, and without *all multiplicity*, so must the *honour* and *service* which is given unto him have *no communicability*: *Esa.* 42.8. *I am the Lord, that is my name, my glory will I not give unto another, nor my prayse to graven Images*; for the *one-most God* must have an *one-most service*; Therefore in that action whereof God is the object, nothing must be an object but God, or in the Scripture phrase thus, in those actions which look towards the *face of God*, nothing may come betweene, whose *face* such actions may look upon besides him, whether by way of *subordination* to him, or *representation* of him: for *I am the Lord thy God* (saith hee) *thou shalt have no other Gods before my face*. Secondly, this *face of God* is not only the *object* of *his person*, but also the *place* of *his presence*, where his glory is revealed in

[a] See also *Apocal. cap.* 1. *ver.* 5. where Christ is named after the seven spirits for the like reason.

in the heavens, where *we ſhall ſee him face to face*, 1 *Cor.* 13.12. *Revel.* 22.4. and where the Angels in heaven behold the *face of the Father which is in heaven*, *Matth.* 18. 11. No action therefore directed thitherward, to the *face* of his revealed *preſence* and *glory*, may ſo much as *look aſquint* upon any other *object*, or behold any other *face* but the *face of God* alone, for we muſt have *no other Gods before his face*.

I ſay not, that a man may not turne his *face* upon the *face of any other thing* when he turnes his *face* towards the *face of God*; for how then ſhould we worſhip him at all, ſeeing which way ſoever we turne us, ſomething will alwayes bee before us? but it is not the *face* of our *bodies*, or their *poſture*, but the *face* and *poſture* of the *act* wee doe, which muſt not have the *face* turned upon any thing elſe, when it is directed at the *face of God*: namely, that action in which God is *faced*, muſt *face* nothing elſe but God, where God is the *object*, whether in regard of his *perſon* when we pray unto him, or of his *throne* of *preſence* when we would approach it or direct our ſupplica- towards it, there nothing is to have any reſpect of an object, but God alone. So although when we pray unto God, wee turne the *face* of our bodies towards Heaven, the Sunne, the Moon, and Starres, yet doe we not worſhip the hoſt of heaven therefore, becauſe our *action* hath no *relation* to them as to an *object*, but to *God alone*; and howſoever they are betweene God and us in place, yet as an *object* of our *devotion* neither they nor any thing in them come any way betweene us and him: Now for the reaſon (if you aſk it) of this *incommunicableneſſe* of all *actions* and *ſervices* directed to *God-ward*, you ſhall have it, becauſe the *Lord* whoſe name is *jealous*, is a *jealous God*, *jealous* not only leſt he ſhould not be honoured as *God*, but *jealous* leſt he ſhould not be honoured as *one God*; for as by honouring him, we acknowledge him *God*, ſo by the *incommunicableneſſe* of honour we acknowledge

him *one God*: For this cause, God being to give us a Mediator, by whom we should have accesse unto his presence, and whom, without his jealousie, wee might interpose in our devotions and supplications unto himselfe, or offered at the throne of his majesty and glory in the heavens, provided that admirable *mystery* of *communicating* to the nature of a man borne of a woman, the *hypostaticall union* of the *second Person* of the *Deity*: and *him*, after he had vanquished death, to *exalt*, to *sit at his right hand* of glory, and power, in the heavens, there in his owne presence and throne, to receive our requests, and to deale as an *agent* betweene us and him.

Thus at length I am arrived at that port which I all this while made for: *viz.* to shew that this *glory* of *Christ* which is stiled his *sitting at the right hand of God*, is that *incommunicable royalty* to which of right belongeth in the presence of God to receive and present our devotions to the *divine Majesty*, as in it, which now followeth, shall appeare. *Sessio ad dextram Dei* is to be *installed in Gods throne*, or to have a *God-like royalty*, which is defined in Scripture ἡ μεγαλωσύνη χριστοῦ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, *the Majesty of Christ in heaven*; whence it is said, *Heb.* 1. ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς *he sate downe on the right hand of Majesty on high*. *Heb.* 8. 1. it is called δεξιὰ τοῦ θρόνου ἡ μεγαλωσύνης ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς *the right hand of the throne of Majesty in the heavens*: it is called also by Christ himselfe, *Mark*, 14. 62. δεξιὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, *Luke* 22. 69. δεξιὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ θεοῦ, *the right hand of power, and the right hand of the power of God*: For as to the *right hand* belongeth both *dignity* and *strength*, so doth this *glory of Christ* include both a *God-like sublimity* and a *God-like power*; the first δεξιὰ τοῦ θρόνου, the second δεξιὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. The proper place where the *Majesticall glory* is revealed, is the *heavens*, as may appeare almost whersoever this *sitting at the right hand of God* is mentioned, *Eph.* 1. 20. ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις: *Colos.* 3. 1. ἐν τοῖς ἄνω. *Heb.*

Heb. 1. ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, *Heb.* 7. 26. ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν, 1 *Pet.* 3, 22. εἰς οὐρανὸν &c. *heaven, heavenly places, high places* and the like, being alwayes thereto annexed, and everywhere appeareth to be a consequent of his ascension into heaven, as we say in our Creed, *he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God*; and therefore in the words whereon my text depends, is expressed by *assumed* or *taken up into glory*, ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ, for as God himselfe is stiled *Pater in Cœlis*, not because not elsewhere, but because his *glory* is there revealed: So Christ sits *ad dextram in Cœlis*, because there the beames of the *Majesty* given him by his Father, are revealed; whence it comes that his Kingdome is called the *Kingdome of heaven*, a Kingdome whose Kings residence and Kingly Throne are both in heaven: This glorious Throne of *Majesty*, this *sitting at the right hand* of the power of the *Almighty* is a name *incommunicable*, an exaltation whereof no creature in heaven or earth is capable, which is that the Apostle meanes to tell us when he saith, *Eph.* 1. 21. *Farre above all principalities and powers, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but in the world to come*: and *Phil.* 2. 9, 10. *wherfore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name* (that is created name) *that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth. Revel.* 3. 21. *he that overcommeth* (saith Christ) *I will give him to sit with me in my throne, even as I have overcome, and am set with my Father in his throne*; here is mention of two thrones, you see, of which, *my throne*, that is, Christs throne, is the condition of a glorified man; in this throne his Saints shall sit with him; but his *Fathers throne* is the *power of divine Majesty*, wherin *none* must sit but *God*, & the *God-Man Jesus Christ*.

These grounds layd, I say, that the honour of being prayd to in *heaven*, and before the *throne of presence*, is a *prerogative* of *dextra Dei*, and to receive our devotions there,

there, a flower of *Chriſts ſitting at the right hand of God*, as S. *Paul*, *Rom.* 8. 34. conjoines them, ſaying, *Who is he that condemneth? it is Chriſt that died, yea rather that is riſen againe, who is at the right hand of God, and who makes interceſſion for us*: for by *right* of this his *exaltation* and *majeſty* hee comes to bee a *Prieſt after the order of Melchiſedech*, as appeares *Pſalme* 110. *The Lord ſaid unto my Lord, ſit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footſtoole*; then followes the effect thereof verſe 4. *The Lord hath ſworne and will not repent, thou art a Prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedech*; and by the ſame right alſo he becomes the *only* and *eternall Prieſt* wh ch hath to doe in the *moſt holy place*, the heavens: For as the high Prieſt only entred the *moſt holy place* beyond the vaile in the earthly Tabernacle: ſo Chriſt Jeſus our only *high Prieſt*, through his body, as the firſt Tabernacle, by his owne blood, entred into the ſecond Tabernacle or *holy place*, not made with hands, as was the figure, but into *heaven it ſelfe*, ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, *to appeare in the preſence of God for us*: all this you have in the ſame words at large, *Heb* 9 7. 11. 12. 24. Now in the Tabernacle of this world, as was in the firſt Tabernacle, we may happily finde many Prieſts whom to imploy as *agents* for us with God: But in the ſecond Tabernacle which is heaven, there is but *one agent* to be imployed, but *one* who hath *royall commiſſion* to deale betweene God and men, that *Angel* of the *preſence*, as *Iſaiah* calls him, 63. 9. and *one only Mediator* Jeſus Chriſt the Lord of glory, who in this prerogative is above both Saints and Angells: For to which of the Saints and Angells, ſaid God at any time, *Sit on my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footſtoole*, *Heb.* 1. 4. 9. 13. neither will this demonſtration admit that vulgar acception to be of any force, namely that *expiatory mediation*, or *meritorious interceſſion* in heaven ſhould indeed appertaine to Chriſt alone,

alone, but *favourable intercession* to pray for us, not so: and therefore for this, wee may without derogation to Christ sollicite either Saints or Angels; I could say, that this ragge is too too narrow and short to cover their nakednesse, who lay hold of it, in whose supplication to Saints and to God too in their names, nothing is more usuall than the expresse mention of their *merits*, *blood*, and *sufferings*, as motives to God to heare them; but we shall not need this answer; for we have demonstrated, that as in the Law, none but the *high Priest alone* was to doe office in the *holiest place*; so Christ Jesus now is the *only agent* for whatsoever is to be done for us in the *holiest Tabernacle* of heaven: besides, wee read that none but the high Priest alone was to offer Incense, or to incense the most holy place when hee entred into it: But Incense is the Prayers of the Saints, sent thither from this outward Temple of the militant Church as the Incense of the Law was fetched from without the vaile: This therefore none in heaven but Christ alone must receive from us, to offer for us; and this is that Angel with the *golden Censer*, *Revel.* 8. who there offers the Incense of the prayers of the Saints there given him to offer upon the *golden Altar before the Throne*, alluding expresly to the *golden Altar* before the *Testimony*.

For the fuller understanding, and farther confirmation of what hath beene spoken, take this also; that notwithstanding the man *Christ Jesus* in regard of his person, being God as well as Man, was from his first incarnation capable of this *royalty* and *glory*; not only for the incomparable sufficiency of his person, which by reason of his twofold nature, is alwayes and in all places present both with God and men; and so at one instant able and ready at every need, to present to the one what he should receive from the other; but cheifly and most of all, for that being very God himselfe, his Fathers

jealousie, which could never have brooked the communication of this glory to any other, which should not have beene the selfe-same with himselfe, was by this condition of his person prevented and secured.

Nevertheless and notwithstanding, all this capability of his person, it was the will of his Father in the dispensation of the mystery of our redemption, not to conferre it upon him, but as purchased and attained by suffering and undergoing that death which no creature in heaven or in earth was able to undergoe but himselfe, being a suffering of a death, whereby death it selfe was overcome and vanquished, to the end that none by death save Jesus Christ alone might be ever thought or deemed capable of the like glory and sublimity; but that it might appeare for ever to be a peculiar right to him.

And this, I think, is not only agreeable to the tenour of the Scripture, but expresse Scripture it selfe, *Heb.* 2. 9. *But we see Jesus who was made a little lower than the Angels by the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour:* for it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sonnes to glory, to make the captaine of their salvation perfect by sufferings. *Phil.* 2. 8. *And being found in fashion of a man, he humbled himselfe, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the Crosse:* and the ninth verse, *Wherefore God hath also highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, Heb.* 10. 12. *But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for sinnes, for ever sate down on the right hand of God. Rom.* 14. 9. *For to this end Christ both died, rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living:* See besides, *Acts* 5. 30, 31. *Rom.* 8. 34. *Ephes.* 1. 20. *1 Pet.* 1. 11.

Lastly, for that particular parcell of this glory of Christ (*viz.*) to be that only name in which we are to ask at the hands of God whatsoever we have to ask, is not this also annexed and ascribed to his triumph over death?

death? *John* 14. 13. I go unto my Father, *viz.* through death, *and whatſoever yee aſk in my name, that will I doe. John* 16. 16. & 23. *A little while yee ſhall not ſee me, and a little while ye ſhall ſee me, becauſe I goe to my Father, and in that day when I am gone to my Father, yee ſhall aſk me nothing: Verily, verily I ſay unto you, whatſoever yee ſhall aſk the Father in my name, he will give it you,* verſ. 24. *Hitherto yee have aſked nothing in my name, aſk and yee ſhall receive. Heb.* 7. 25. *Wherefore he is able to ſave them to the uttermoſt that come unto God by him, ſeeing he ever liveth to make interceſſion for them, for ſuch an high Prieſt became us who is made higher than the heavens.*

How is it then that ſome extenuate that kinde of Saint-worſhip, wherein prayers are not made unto them directly, but God is prayed unto in their names, and for their mediation ſake to grant our requeſts. Is it not a deniall of Chriſts prerogative, to aſcribe unto any other, for any reſpect of glory or neerneſſe to God after death or otherwiſe, that whereof he alone is infeoffed by his unimitable Death, triumphant Reſurrection, and glorious Aſcenſion? certainly that which he holds by incommunicable title, is it ſelfe alſo incommunicable. To conclude therefore with the words of S. *Paul*, 1 *Tim.* 2. 5. *There is but one God and one Mediator between God and men, the man Chriſt Jeſus*: as God is one, ſo the Mediator is one, for it is a God-like royalty, and therefore can belong but to one: There is but one God in heaven, without any other gods ſubordinate unto him; therefore but one Mediator there, without any other mediators beſides him: as for the Angels and bleſſed Saints, they have indeed a light of glory too, but they are but as leſſer lights in that heaven of heavens: And therefore as where the ſunne ſhines, the leſſer ſtars of heaven, though ſtars, give not their light to us: ſo where this glorious Sunne Chriſt Jeſus continually ſhineth, by his preſence, ſitting at the right hand of God; there the glory of the Saints and

and Angels is not sufficient to make them capable of any flower of this divine honour, which is God-like and so appropriate to Christ, by right of his heavenly exaltation in the throne of Majesty; whatsoever Spirit saith otherwise, ὁ κρατῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν, *holds not the head*, but is a Christ-apostate-spirit which denies the faith of Christs assumption into glory, and revives the doctrines of Dæmons.

Colos. 2. 19.

The way being now cleared, I may (I hope) now safely resume my application which I have already given some taste of, that the doctrine of Dæmons comprehends in most expresse manner the whole *idolatry of the mystery of iniquity, the deifying, and invocating of Saints and Angels, the bowing downe to Images, the worshipping of Crosses as new idol-columnes, the adoring and tempting of reliques, the worshipping of any other visible thing upon supposall of any Divinity therein*: what coppy was ever so like the sample, as all this to the doctrine of Dæmons? and for the Idolatry of the Eucharist or bread-worship, though it may be reduced to Image-worship, as being the adoration of a signe or symbole; yet let it bee considered whether for the equality thereof it may not be taken rather for an *idolatry of reliques*, the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament being the *mysticall reliques* which he left us as monuments of his death till he come: whichsoever it bee I must confesse it hath a straine above the abomination of the Gentiles, who though they supposed some presence of their Dæmons in their Images and reliques, yet were they never so blockish, as to think their Images and reliques to be transubstantiated into Dæmons: But to come to the maine againe, I will confesse for my selfe that I cannot think of this *Dæmon-resemblance* without admiration, nor doe I beleeve that you will heare without some astonishment, that which I am now to adde farther: That the advancers of Saint-worship in the beginning did not only see it, but even gloried

(sed

(*sed gloriatione non bona*) that they had a thing in Christian practice so like the doctrines of Dæmons: we heard before, that *Plato* in his *Repub.* would have the soules of such as died valiantly in the battell, to be accounted for Dæmons after death, and their Sepulchers and Coffins to bee adored and served as the Sepulchers of Dæmons. *Eusebius lib.* 13. *Præpar. Evangel.* quoting this place, adds with it, ταῦτα δὲ ἁρμόζει ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν θεοφιλῶν τελευτῇ, οὓς στρατιώτας τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὐσεβείας οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτοῖς εἴπων, παραλαμβάνεσθαι, *these things doe befit at (or after) the decease of the favourites of God, whom if thou shalt affirme to be taken for the champions of true Religion, thou shalt not say amisse,* ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν ἔθος ἡμῖν παριέναι καὶ τὰς εὐκὰς παρὰ ταυτὼς ποιεῖσθαι, τιμᾶν τε τὰς μακαρίας αὐτῶν ψυχάς, *whence it is our custome to goe unto their tombs, and to make our prayers at them, and to honour their blessed soules.*

The purpose of *Eusebius* was here to shew, as a preparation to draw men to Christianity, how well the present use of Christians in honouring the memories of their Martyrs, by keeping their assemblies at their Sepulchers, did agree with that of the Gentiles (so much by *Plato* commended) in honouring their champions and worthies for Dæmons after death: But alas, in the age next after, it proved too too like it indeed: For these earerings which the Christians had borrowed or stolen from the Gentiles at their comming out of Ægypt, presently became a golden calfe, as soone as the woman the Church came into the wildernesse, yea and *Aaron* the Priest had a foule part in it too.

Read the eighth book of *Theodoret de curandis Græcorum affectionibus*, whose title is *de Martyribus*, or in the meane time take these few passages thereof: Thus hee speaks having quoted that passage of *Hesiod* for Dæmons, commended by *Plato*; *Quod si Poëta Hesiodus auxiliares custodesque mortalium eos vocat qui sanctè olim beneque vixerunt, eamque hujus Poëtæ sententiam, Philosophorum*

optimus Plato adeò confirmavit, ut eorum hominum Sepulchra colenda eſſe atque adoranda cenſuerit; Quid ita quæſo, boni viri (i. e.) Græci, quæ ipſi facimus, accuſatis? nos etenim pari modo (N. B.) eos qui illuſtri pietate viguerunt, proque eâ jugulati ac cæſi ſunt, & auxiliares & medicos nominamus; at non Dæmones tamen; abſit à nobis abſit hic furor: ſed amicos Dei, fideleſque ſervos dicimus fuiſſe — Ibid. poſſe ſanctorum animas, vel cum extra hoc corpus fuerint hominum curare negotia, Plato etiam 11 legum libro affirmat verba Platonis citantur ———

Cum itaq; Philoſophus credendum eſſe rumoribus cenſeat (id eſt ſermonibus qui vulgò habentur de illâ animarum defunctarum curâ circa homines) vos tamen nobis non ſolùm fidei nihil habetis, clamantemq; eventorum vocem audire non vultis, &c. Ibid. Martyrum templa conſpicua —

Quique homines proſperâ valetudine ſunt, conſervari eam ſibi à martyribus petunt: Qui verò ægritudinem aliquam patiuntur, ſanitatem expoſcunt, — Inſuper & ſteriles &c. — Item qui peregrè proficiſcuntur &c. — non qui ſe ad Deos accedere arbitrentur, ſed qui orent Dei martyres tanquam divinos homines, interceſſoresq; ſibi eos apud Deum advocent & precentur ———

Piè verò & fideliter precatos ea maximè conſequi quæ deſiderant, teſtantur illa quæ votorum rei dona perſolvunt, manifeſta nimirum ſanitatis adepti indicia:

Nam alii oculorum, alii manuum ſimulachra ſuſpendunt, ex argento auroq; confecta, — paulo poſt — Quid, quod eorum qui paſſim Dii ferebantur memoriam è mente hominum martyres aboleverint — Suos mortuos Dominus Deus noſter in templa, pro Diis veſtris (i.e.) Dæmonibus induxit, ac illos quidem caſſos gloriâ vanoſq; reddidit, ſuis autem martyribus honorem illorum dedit:

Propandis enim Diaſiisq; & Dionyſiis (i.e.) Jovis, Liberique Patris ſolennitatibus; Petro, Paulo, Thomæ, Sergio, aliiſq; ſanctis martyribus ſolennitates epulo populari peraguntur: Cùm itaque tantam utilitatem ex honore martyribus

tyribus collato provenire, homines videatis, fugite (quaeso) errorem Dæmonum, pravioque ductu martyrum, facibusq; utentes, viam capessite quæ ad Deum perducit, &c. Now judge whether hitherto ἀθεμιτολία δαιμονίων hath beene fitly applyed or not: I will goe on.

Having therefore by so many arguments made apparant (I hope) what I endeavoured to prove: I desire we may observe, among so many corruptions, both now and heretofore over-whelming the Church of Christ, what it is wherein the Holy Ghost placeth the essence, and counteth as the very soule of the great Apostasie under the man of sinne, and would have us to make the pole-starre of our discovery thereof.

Not every errour, not every heresie, how fowle soever; but ἀθεμιτολία δαιμονίων, *Idolatry*, and *Spirituall fornication*: as for other heresies, though accompanying this, yet are they but accidentall, and not of the essence of the great Apostasie which was to come.

Even as whores are seldome without other great faults, which yet are no part of whoredome: so hath the spirituall whore many other heresies, but her whoredome is only Idolatry and the doctrine of Dæmons.

Neither is heresie of it selfe, no though damnable heresie, a character whereby the great Apostasie can bee knowne from other sects and blasphemies.

Fowle heresies were in the first ages of the Church, yet Antichrist and his time were neither of them yet come; when his time approached neerer, the Arrians, Macedonians, Nestorians, Eutychians, were abominable heretiques.

And the Arrians possessed for a time the face of the visible Church; yet was not theirs the solemne Apostasie looked for.

But Idolatry or spirituall whoredome, which in that storme the Devill was aworking, this is the only character and note whereby the Apostasie under the man of

1 Thes. 1: 9. Conversion to Christianity is described a turning

turning from Idols to serve the true and living God, and to wait for his Sonne Iesus Christ; therefore Apostasie is a returne to Idols from the living and true God and his Sonne Iesus Christ.

of sinne is discovered and distinguished from all other blasphemies, sects, and heresies of what age or time soever. Which that I may not seem to ground only upon the exposition of my text, which whatsoever the probability thereof be, may yet be thought alone too weak to support the weight of so maine a conclusion: I desire you to take these arguments for a full confirmaiion thereof; some of them have already beene intimated, but now all are mustered up together.

First, that *Babylon* is entitled in the Revelation of S. *John*, not the *Lyar of Babylon*, not the *Tyrant of Babylon*, not the *Heretique of Babylon*, nor the *Murdresse of Babylon*, but the *Whore of Babylon*, yea that *Great Whore* and the *Mother of fornications, and abominations of the earth*. Doth not God (think we) give the name as he accounts the nature? or is there any one will deny that this *Babylon* is that mystery of iniquity which our Apostle so calleth, as being in opposition to the great μυστήριον εὐσεβείας *mystery of true worship and Religion?* if any should μυστήριον Βαβυλὼν *mystery Babylon* in her forehead, would help to reclaim him: And what *Whore* is that with whom *the Kings and Nations and Kingdomes of the earth commit fornication?* can it be any other but a *spirituall Whore?* Without question therefore S. *John* meanes no other thing here than what he foretold in the eleventh chapter, That the *Second and outmost court of the Temple* (which is the second state of the Christian Church) *together with the holy City, should bee trodden downe, and overtrampled by the Gentiles forty twomoneths*, that is, overwhelmed with the Idolaty of the Gentiles, which is, διάστημα ἐθνῶν, as long as power shall bee given to the Beast to make warre with the Saints, as long as the witnesses must weare sackcloth, and the woman which escaped the fury of the Ethnicall Dragon, be fed in the wildernesse.

Secondly, S. *Paul* tels us, that the great Apostasie should

ſhould enter by ſtrong deluſions, by ſignes and lying wonders; conſider then what corruptions of the Chriſtian faith were thus uſhered in to begin with the begining and firſt corruption of that kinde; Invocation of Saints, with the adoration of their ſhrines, and reliques; how were theſe advanced in the Church, was it not by miraculous cures of the ſick, healing of the lame, reſtoring of the blinde, yea raiſing of the dead (as ſeemed) ſometimes by the only touch and aire, ſometimes of the ſhrines and reliques of ſoules deceaſed? was it not ſtill confirmed by ſtrange apparitions, and other meanes wonderfull to heare? for diſcovery of bones and reliques unknowne and forgotten, yea of men whoſe names they never heard of before. And which I ſhall ſhew better hereafter: no ſuch experience for thirty yeares together obſerved in the Church, untill the totall and fixed time began to enter. The worſhipping of Images, the ſecond, for time, of the Churches fornications: was not this alſo allowed and at length fully ratified by like ſignes and miracles, ſhewed upon thoſe who approached them in their devotions? Read the legend, and ſee what ſtore there is of ſtrong deluſions and lying wonders. That which for time came in laſt, but deſerves a place among the foremoſt, I meane the Idolatry of the Maſſe, and adoration of the breaden god; ſearch and ſee if it be not alſo thus attented!

If all this be true, then would I know what doctrine of theirs beſides was inſtalled with theſe ſolemnities; there is but one only left for exception, and it is Purgatory; but what if all the deluſions of Purgatory, with all the apparitions of Purgatorian Ghoſts, were but an indirect device of Satan ayming partly to advance the Maſſe into an Idoll by the miraculous efficacy (forſooth as the Ghoſts report) of the oblation thereof for them; partly to inſtall the Sonne of perdition (a Dæmon I yet ſpeak not of, and yet a Dæmon) *to ſit as God in the*

*Apocal. 1. 18.

Temple and Throne of Christ, with the keyes of * *Hades and death*, to deliver them? what stronger presumption can there be of this than the event; and that the errour of Purgatory had so long beene working before the Devill seemed to know how to make this use of it, which at length he spied out and plied lustily with signes and wonders. If all this be true, then it followes still that it is spirituall fornication which the Holy Ghost in Scripture intendeth, and the event hath marked out for the soule of Antichristian abomination and impiety; But of the matter of miracles and lying wonders more in the second part of my text, which is the proper place thereof.

Thirdly and lastly, the great Apostasie is a thing proper to the ὕστεροι καιροὶ *the latter times*; which I will shew (when I come at it) to be the last times of the fourth kingdome of *Daniel, Dan.* 7. 25. *& alibi*; but amongst all other corruptions, only the spirituall fornication of the Church and spouse of Christ will bee found proper to these times.

But you will say, if Idolatry and Spirituall fornication bee the matter, why should not this rather be laid upon Painims, and Turks, and Saracens, who acknowledge not Christ, rather than upon Christians who doe?

I answer, S. *John* and S. *Paul* prophesied of things to come, not of that which was in being when they prophesied. But Ethnicall and Painim Idolatry at that time overwhelmed the whole earth, yea and persecuted and made warre with the Saints, and no time hath yet beene when this Idolatry was not to be found. It must needs be then some other whoredome (for whoredome it was to be) which was prophesied of to come.

In Saracen. Frid. Sylburg. citante Martini o. p. 1903. Lex. οἱ Σαρρακηνοὶ μέχρι τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ βασιλέως χρόνου εἰδωλολατροῦν προσκυνοῦντες τῶ Ἑωσφόρω ἀστέρι καὶ τῆ Ἀφροδίτη ἣν δὲ καὶ χαβαρ τῆ ἑαυτῶν ἐπονομάζουσι γλώττῃ δηλοῖ δὲ ἡ λέξις αὐτὴ τὴν μεγάλην.

Againe, neither Saracen nor Turk (the greatest un-

christian

christian States since Christ) neither of these, I say, can bee Antichrist wee speak of, nor their blasphemy that mystery of iniquity foretold by the Apostles and Prophets.

For there are two unquestionable characters of that mystery, which will neither of them, without doubt not both of them, agree to Turk or Saracen; *videlicet*, first, that it should sit in the *Great City*, which in S. *Johns* time *reigned over the nations of the earth*. Secondly, that it should bee an *Apostasie* from the Christian faith once embraced: But the Turk, whatsoever he be, is no Apostate, being of a nation which never was Christian; nor was the seat of the Saracen Empire, whilst it stood, either in the old or new *Rome*, or neere unto either; for I would seeme to yeeld for this time, that new *Rome* or *Constantinople* would serve the turne, though I am farre enongh from beleeving it. Not will I alleadge, that *Mahomet* himselfe and his nation were both Painims when they began their blasphemies; for you would tell me, that *Sergius* the Monk taught him to make the Alchoran: nor will I question now, whether the Christian or Mahumetan be the greater Idolater, though the doubt might soone bee resolved, seeing it is well knowne the Mahumetans worship no Images. But I have alleaged nothing save what is without exception, that both these characters I spake of cannot bee applied either to Turk or Saracen, though I beleeve that neither can be. When I spake of Painims and Mahumetans, I would have you remember, that there were some blasphemous sects in the first ages of the Church, which are no more to be accounted of as Christians than Mahumetans and Painims are; nay Mahumetanism is neerer Christianity than many of them were: for amongst whom the Christians Deity is not worshipped and received; those, though they spring up in imitation of Christianity, I account but new Painim blasphemies and not Christian heresies: such were the

Mahomet in Alcorano inducit Deum ad se ita loquentem: Pauper fuisti & ditavi te, Idolis servisti & vocavite: Interpres Aretæ in Præfatione sub finem.

Mahomet was a Paynim, neicircumcised as the other Arabians were, nor baptized till he began his false prophesy: when *Abdalla* the Iew did the one unto him, and *Sergius* the Monk conferred the other, *vid. Purchas Pilgr.*

the * Cerinthians, Marcionites, Saturnians, Valentinians, and Manichees, &c. which neither profeſſed the ſame Deity, nor acknowledged that divine word which we Chriſtians doe; whereas yet the Mahumetans worſhip the ſame God with Jewes and Chriſtians, God the Creatour of heaven and earth, and God the father of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*; howſoever they conceive otherwiſe of his nature and properties than Chriſtians doe: But this by the way (leſt it may put a rub in our diſcourſe) of ſpirituall fornication.

* *Tertul.* calls theſe Hereticks, *Alterius divinitatis Hæretici*.

But you will ſtill alledge in her behalfe, who ſeemes all this while to be charged, that *Antichriſt*, and the *man of ſin* in Scripture, is ſet forth as the moſt hatefull and execrable thing that can be in the eyes of God Almighty. But how can ſuch a thing be ſaid, and comparatively to be where the true God, with Chriſt his ſon, God and man, are in any ſort acknowledged and worſhipped?

Lord! that the whole ſtraine of Scripture, in the Prophets eſpecially, and the example of the *Church of Iſrael*, ſhould not cure this web, and take this filme from the eyes of men! Doth not the Lord ſay of Iſrael, that *he had choſen them to be a ſpeciall people to himſelfe, above all people that are upon the face of the earth*, Deut. 7. 6. *You onely have I knowne* (ſaith he) *of all the families of the earth*, *Amos* 3. 2. And is not *Chriſt* the *Lord* of Chriſtians? and is not the *Church* his *Spouſe*? τὸ μυςήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐςὶ, ſaith Saint *Paul*, *Epheſ.* 5. *This is a great myſtery*. No warvell then where this *myſtery* is not conſidered, if the *myſtery of iniquity* be not underſtood. Alas poore Church of Iſrael, thy caſe it ſeemes ſhould have beene a very hard one! for what Nation in the world ever ſuffered ſo much rebukes, ſo many plagues, ſo much wrath, as thou haſt done? yet couldeſt thou ſay for thy ſelfe, thou never forſakedſt the true God altogether, but waſt ſtill called by his name; onely thou wouldeſt faine worſhip him in Calves and Images, as other Nations thy neighbours

neighbours did their Gods; thou wouldeſt needs follow the faſhion, and this was thine errour; thou never meanedſt to caſt of thy *Jehovah* altogether, but ſtill wouldeſt have him to be thy God, and thy ſelfe to be his people; yet thou tookeſt this liberty, to have other gods beſides the Lord thy God, *viz.* thy *Baalims* and *Demon gods* of other Nations about thee, and yet hopedſt *Jehovah* the God of heaven, thy onely Soveraigne God, would not be offended thereat, ſince thou retainedſt him in chiefe place and honour with thee ſtill.

Why was thy God then ſo unkinde and cruell unto thee, to call thee *Whore*, and *Proſtitute Whore*, ſo often? All his Prophets continually baiting thee with that ſo foul and odious a name of *abominable Harlot*? Why did hee ſcatter thee, and cart thee even naked among the Nations, afore his Jealouſie would be ſatisfied? for it ſeemes he is farre more indulgent to his *ſecond wife* the *Church of the Gentiles*, for ſhe worſhips her God in Images and Crucifixes, yea calls a piece of bread, her Lord and her god, and yet ſaith, he is no whit jealous of her, but well pleaſed. She, though eſpouſed to Chriſt Jeſus the Son of the living God, as the ſole Interceſſor and Mediator in the preſence of God his Father, yet thinks ſhe may fall downe to Saints and Angels, yea to as many Images of them as ever the Jewes had of their Baalims, or the Genſiles of their Dæmons.

And yet forſooth becauſe ſhe makes her Lord the chiefeſt ſtill in the honour of her affections, and uſes the reſt of her lovers no farther than ſhe may ſtill yeeld the firſt and chiefe place to him, ſhe verily ſuppoſes he is no whit offended with her; whereas Iſrael ſhould have been called *Whore* a thouſand times over for as little as this; yea and like enough to have beene carted too, and her noſe ſlit, *Ezek.* 23.25. long before this time.

Nay but ſhe wipes her mouth, and asketh why her Lord ſhould be angry, for ſhe calls him ſtill her Lord,

and acknowledges and professeth him still to be her Husband. If he hath a minde to be angry with any, let him goe to the Turks, Tartars, and other Mahumetans, or to the Painims, who will not acknowledge him at all to be their Lord God, though he hath offered himselfe, and perhaps wooed some of them, but they would none of him, but married themselves to other husbands: here if he will be jealous, is matter for his jealousie.

But thou *Christ-apostaticall Strumpet*, knowest thou not the first Commandment of thy Christian Decalogue to be, *Thou shalt have none other Gods (nor Christs) but me.* What dost thou with so many *Christlings?* knowest thou not that an husband is more grieved and dishonoured by his wifes adultery, than if any other woman whatsoever, yea suppose his kinswomen and daughters, should play the harlots?

What are Turks and Tartars, and any other unbeleeving Nation under heaven, unto thy Lord and Saviour? are they not all as strangers to him, and he to them? But as for thee, he had chosen thee out of many nations to espouse thee to himselfe; so that thou mayest say with Israel, *Isay 63.19. We are thine, but as for them, thou never bearest rule over them, they were not called by thy name: but to thee*, to use the words of *Ezekiel c.16. he sware an oath, and entered into a covenant with thee, and thou becamest his, and wert called and wilt still be called by his name: Thee he washed with water, yea, throughly washed thee from the pollution of thy birth, and anointed thee with oyle. Thou wast decked with gold and silver, and thy raiment was of fine linnen, and silke, and broydered worke, thou diddest eat fine flower, and honey, and oyle, and wast exceeding beautifull, and didst prosper into a kingdome. And thy renowne went forth among the heathen for thy beauty; for it was perfect through the comelinesse which the Lord thy God had put upon thee. But thou didst trust in thine owne beauty, and playedst the harlot because of thy renown, and*

Hieron. in ca. 43 Ezek. Ego hoc arbitror, quòd non polluat nomen Domini, nisi ille qui visus est nomini ejus credere: & quomodò tollit membra Christi, & facit membra meretricis, qui priùs Christo credidit; sic ille polluit nomen Domini, qui priùs nominis ejus fidem susceperit.

and powredſt out thy fornications upon every one that paſſed by. And of thy garments thou didſt take, and deckedſt thy high places with divers colours, and playedſt the harlot thereupon. Thou haſt alſo taken thy faire jewels of my Lords gold, and of my Lords ſilver, which he had given thee, and madeſt to thy ſelfe images of men, and didſt commit whoredome with them. And tookeſt thy broydered garments and coveredſt them: and thou haſt ſet the Lords oyle and his incenſe before them. Judge now betweene the Lord and his people ye that have wives, and give ſentence ye husbands whether of the two in queſtion hath moſt diſhonoured our Lord and Saviour, which of the two is moſt like to fret him, and kindle the coales of fury and jealouſie: thoſe who never yet were in covenant with him, nor yet are called by his name: or whether his Spouſe, his darling, his beloved one, to whom he was betrothed and married? Judge according to the manner of wedlock, and the notorious preſident of Iſrael: he that is a father (we ſay) is beſt able to underſtand the love of a father, and therefore Gods love to his children for the like reaſon: he that is an husband is ſenſible of the jealouſie of an husband, and ſo of the caſe of *Chriſt* with his *unfaithfull* and *trecherous Spouſe* the *Chriſtian Jezabel.*

The deciſion and ſumme of all this, is this, That the *whoredome* of the Church of God is a *ſpirituall* adultery; and therefore betweene the Idolatry of Chriſtians, and that of Infidels, and of Painims, is as much difference in Gods eſteeme, as is between adultery and ſimple fornication. The one, as equall to murther, was in the law puniſhed with death; the other with a much lighter puniſhment: whence in *Ezekiel* (in whoſe words I have beene ſo long) *chap. 16. ver. 38.* God ſaith to Jeruſalem for their Idolatry, that he would *judge her as women that break wedlock and ſhed blood are judged:* he would *give her blood in fury and jealouſie.* And this was the reſolu-

tion of God himſelfe againſt Iſrael, *Amos* 3.1,2. *Heare the word that the Lord hath ſpoken againſt you, O children of Iſrael, ſaying, You onely have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore will I puniſh you for all your iniquities.* And the ſame will be the judgement of the *Chriſtian Jezabel* (howſoever Painims and Infidels ſpeed) when *Great Babylon ſhall come in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceneſſe of his wrath.* This I would have well conſidered and weighed by thoſe whom the Mahumetan blaſphemy hath ſo dazeled, that they can hardly beleeve that ſo hated and execrable a name of *Babylon* ſhould belong unto any other, unleſſe there be yet to come ſome other like barbarous Tyrant and Seducer after them: the cauſe of which errour is, That men have fancied another manner of *Antichriſt* than the Holy Ghoſt meant of, and placed their eyes farre wide of the ground of Gods hatred, and of the nature of that myſterie of abomination. But Iſraels Apoſtaſie, Gods Iealouſie, and their unparalled puniſhment therefore, ſuch as no Nation in the world, how Idolatrous ſoever, endured beſides themſelves, are in this caſe the onely Poleſtarre to direct us.

But even this miſtake, which is and hath beene of the *myſtery of iniquity*, is it ſelfe a kinde of *myſtery*, or not without one; for *Antichriſt* is a *Counter-Chriſt*, and therefore his *comming* to be a *counter-reſemblance* of the *comming of Chriſt*.

Chriſt was both to come, and accordingly looked for *in the laſt times* (that is) in the time of the fourth kingdome of *Daniel*; ſo Antichriſt and his myſtery of impiety was to be, *ἐν ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ*, in the *latter times of theſe laſt times*, that is (as I ſhall better ſhew hereafter) in the laſt times, or laſt Scene (as I may ſo ſpeake) of the fourth kingdome of *Daniel*. When *Chriſt* came the *Scepter* was to depart from Judah, and that *Commonwealth* to be diſſolved: ſo when *Antichriſt* was to come, the *Roman Empire*

Empire was to fall, and *he that hindered was to be taken out of the way*, 2 Theſ. 2. 8. The Jewes expected Chriſt to come when he did come, and yet knew him not when he was come, becauſe they had fancied the manner and quality of his comming like ſome temporall Monarch, with armed power to ſubdue the earth before him: So the Chriſtians, Gods ſecond Iſrael, looked the comming of Antichriſt ſhould be at that time when he came indeed, and yet they knew him not when he was come, becauſe they had fancied his comming as of ſome barbarous Tyrant, who ſhould with armed power not onely perſecute and deſtroy the Church of Chriſt, but almoſt the world, that is, they looked for ſuch an Antichriſt as the Jewes looked for a Chriſt.

Wherefore as Chriſt came unto his owne, and his own received him not; ſo Antichriſt came upon thoſe who were not his owne, and yet they eſchewed him not: but yet as ſome Jewes, though few, knew Chriſt when he came, and received him; ſo did ſome Chriſtians, though but few, keep themſelves from the pollution of Antichriſt. Laſtly, as the Jewes ere long ſhall acknowledge, and run unto him, whom they pierced as not knowing him; ſo hath the Chriſtian Church, for a great part, diſcovered that Son of perdition, whom a long time they had ignorantly worſhipped, becauſe they knew him not. *O the depth of the riches both of the wiſedome and knowledge of God, how unſearchable are his judgements, and his wayes paſt finding out!* But for our part, ſeeing our caſe is ſo like unto that of the Jewes, let their lamentable and wofull errour, in miſtaking their Meſſiah by wrongly fancying him, be a warning and a caveat unto us, that we likewiſe upon like conceits and prejudice miſtake and miſdeeme not the *Man of ſinne*.

TINES, *Some.*

NOw I come unto the *second point* expressed in this description of the *great Apostasie*, *viz.* the Persons Revolters, they shall not be all, but *non, some*, *non omnes*, some shall Apostatize: some, that is not, as we in our English doe often use it, *a few*, but *some*, that is, *not all*, yet *some*, that is, so many as that the whole visible Church should be said thereof to be Apostatized; so many as should like a cloud overspread the face of the Christian firmament, in such sort, as the starres and lights therein should not easily be discerned. For the *great defection* so much propheſied of, was to be a *solemne* and *generall* one; such a one, as wherein the *chiefest* of the Churches, *honoured* as *a mother in Israel*, should become a *Babylonish whore*, *a mother of harlots*, *and of the abominations of the earth*, *Rev.* 17. such a one as whereby the *outmost court of the Temple of God* should not onely be prophaned, but *trodden downe by Gentilisme*, *Rev.* 11. such a one as the *world* is said *to wonder after the beast*, *and to worship him*; and such a one as should not onely make *warre with the Saints*, *but overcome them*, *Rev.* 13. Otherwise, if our Apostle here, and Saint *John* there, should meane no more than the errours of some particular ones, and their revolt from the faith of the Church, they should make either no propheſie at all, or at the best, but a needlesse one.

For who knowes not, that in Saint *Pauls*, Saint *Johns*, and the Apostles owne times, were many Heresies and Heretickes growne up as weeds in the wheat field of Christ? but as yet the wheat overtopped them, and the visible body of the Church disclaimed them. If these had beene the worst the Church should look for, the Apostles should seeme to propheſie of things present, and not, as they doe, of things to come, yea and more than this,

this, they ſhould foretell of a thing as proper and peculiar to the laſt times, which was no novelty in their owne times.

We muſt take notice therefore that the Apoſtaſie and corruption of faith ſo much propheſied of, was another manner of one, than that which was ſo frequent in thoſe firſt times; ſuch a kind of one as ſhould not be diſclaimed by the viſible body of the Church, but ſhould ſurpriſe, eclipſe, and overcloud the beautifull face thereof: which manner of defection never had beene before, nor ſhould there be the like after it.

Now that the word τινὲς, or *ſome*, uſeth in Scripture to to imply *no ſmall number*, but onely ſerves to intimate an *exception of ſome particulars*, though there were but two or three to be excepted, I will make manifeſt by a few examples, leſt our Engliſh uſe might deceive us.

Firſt, *Iohn* 6. 60. *Many of the Diſciples* (ſaith the Text) *when they heard this, ſaid, This is an hard ſaying*: and verſe 66. *Many of his Diſciples from that time went back and walked no more with him*; nevertheleſſe concerning theſe *many* Chriſt himſelfe ſaith verſe 64. ἀλλ' εἰσὶν τινες, *but there are ſome of you which believe not*: here we ſee that *ſome* is a *great many*: So *Rom.* 11. *S. Paul* there ſaith of the rejection of the Jewes, *ſome of the branches are broken off*; now what a *ſome* this was, appeares in the ſame chapter, when he ſaith, *God hath included them all in unbeleefe, that he might have mercy upon all*: but to ſearch no further, 1 *Cor.* 10. will ſtore us with examples, as verſe 7. *neither be yee Idolaters,* καθώς τινες αὐτῶν, *as ſome of them were*, this was a *great ſome*, for *Moſes* ſaith of it, *Exod.* 32. 3. *And all the people brake off their golden eareringes and brought them to Aaron*: in verſe 8. *Neither let us commit fornication as ſome of them*, which were ſo many, *Numb.* 25. 4. that the Lord ſaid to *Moſes*, *Take all the heads of the people, and hang them up before the Lord, that the fierce anger of the Lord may*

be

be turned away from Iſrael: and verſe 5. it is ſaid in generall, *And Iſrael joyned himſelfe to Baal-Peor:* againe in the ſame Epiſtle verſe 9. it is ſaid, *Neither let us tempt Chriſt, as ſome of them alſo tempted and were deſtroyed of Serpents:* and verſe 10. *Neither murmure as ſome of them alſo murmured*; this *ſome* was a *great ſome* indeed, even all the people, ſave *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and *Caleb*; whereof is ſaid *Numb.* 14. 1. *And all the Congregation lifted up their voyce and wept*: and verſe 2. *And all the Congregation murmured againſt Moſes and Aaron, and the whole Congregation ſaid unto them, would God that wee had died, &c.* wherefore they were as largely puniſhed, all of them dying in the wilderneſſe, *Joſhua* and *Caleb* excepted. Theſe places of many will ſuffice, to ſhew that the word [*ſome*] in my text, intends not to extenuate the number of Apoſtates, as implying they ſhould be but few, but only ſhews they ſhould not bee all, for where the Apoſtates are but τινες, *ſome*, there *ſome* alſo are not Apoſtates but exempted from the common defection, wherewith the reſt were miſerably overwhelmed. The obſervation therefore which this τινες affords us, is, *That the true Church of Chriſt was never wholly extinguiſhed, nor the light of his Goſpell ever quite put out, no, not in the greateſt darkneſſe that ever was to overwhelme it.* By the true Church of Chriſt I underſtand that holy ſociety and company of beleevers, which as they accord and are joyned together in one common faith of all divine truths needfull to ſalvation, ſo are they alſo free from the fellowſhip of ſuch erroneous abominations and mortall errours as deſtroy and overturne it. This is that ſociety, whereof by the grace of Almighty God, we glory to be the members; this that ſociety, which in the primitive times grew and flouriſhed: this that ſociety, which (when the times foretold of the Churches eclipſe came, and the great Apoſtaſie had over-ſpread the face thereof) was indeed much impaired, indangered, and obſcured, but never

never was totally extinguiſhed, but continued even under the juriſdiction of the *man of ſinne*, yea in *Babylon* it ſelfe where he had this throne; for doth not Chriſt at length ſay? *Apoc.* 18. 4. *Come out of her my people*: how could they come out thence unleſſe they had beene there? or how ſhould Antichriſt *ſit in the Temple of God*, 2 *Theſ.* 2. 9. unleſſe *Gods Temple* were even there where Antichriſt ſate? as a few living embers in a heape of dying aſhes: as a little wheat in a field overgrowne with weeds: as the lights of the heaven in a firmament overcaſt with clouds: as a little pure gold in a great maſſe of droſſe and mixed metal: ſuch was the faithfull company of Chriſt in the Apoſtate body of Chriſtendome, the * *Virgin Church* in the midſt of *Babylon*.

* Apoc. 14. 4.

But will our adverſaries ſay, this is not ſufficient to make you the true Church of Chriſt, becauſe ſome of you have alwayes beene; but you muſt prove alſo that you have alwayes viſibly beene; for the true Catholick Church muſt not only never have beene interrupted or extinguiſhed, but it muſt have beene a ſociety viſibly knowne unto the world, and not as embers in the aſhes, but as a burning and ſhining flame.

But this objection deſerves no anſwering: becauſe our adverſaries, howſoever they would diſſemble it, doe but play upon the preſent advantage which they think their owne Church hath in this point above ours: otherwiſe when they forget the contention they have with us, and are in a calmer mood, they can bee pleaſed to deliver other doctrine, which (if they would be ingenuous ſo much as to remember it) we needed not ſuch a ſtirre about the point of the Churches viſibility; for the difference betweene them and us hereabout, is not ſo great as they would make it ſeeme: They themſelves and the Fathers alſo teach, that when Antichriſt commeth, the viſibility of the Church ſhall be eclipſed: nay, they affirme more than we uſually in that caſe require; for then they

ſay the uſe of the Sacraments ſhall ceaſe, no Euchariſt, no Maſſe, no publick Aſſemblies, yea all Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction ſhall be extinguiſhed; but here lies all the difference, they hold the glorious viſibility of the true Church to have *continued* from the beginning unto this preſent, and the *overſhadowing* of the *light*, and *eclipſe* of the *glory* thereof under *Antichriſt* to be *yet to come*; we on the contrary maintaine, the *clouding* of the Churches *viſibility* under the *man of ſinne* to have *beene already*, and *ſome part* of the *viſible ſplendor* thereof to be *yet to come*: both agreeing in this, that in the *fatall Apoſtaſie* the Churches *viſibility* and *glory* ſhould ceaſe; but we ſay that the time hath *been already*, they ſay that it is *yet to come*; we ſay, that *time* of *darkneſſe* was to continue *many ages*, they ſay, when it comes it ſhall *laſt but three ſingle yeares, and a halfe*. Seeing therefore the whole controverſie lies in the point of time, whether the Churches fatall Apoſtaſie be already paſt or yet to come, it would be much the ſhorter and quicker courſe both for them and us to decide this controverſie, to examine the condition and quality of both religions by the holy Scripture, where we have alſo, as Saint *Peter* ſpeakes, *a moſt ſure word of propheſie, whereunto wee ſhall doe well if wee take heed, as to a light ſhining in a dark place.*

Now though this anſwer be ſufficient enough for the objection of our Adverſaries, yet for the better underſtanding and clearer inſight into the matter queſtioned, we will further conſider whether and in what manner or meaſure our Church may be ſaid to have been viſible, during the prevailing Apoſtaſie, and in what reſpects again it was not viſible, and in both agreeable unto the ſtate of the true Church under the frequent Apoſtaſies of the Church of Iſrael.

Firſt therefore we muſt know that by a *viſible Chriſtian ſociety* in this queſtion is meant a *ſociety* or *company* of *Chriſtian* beleevers joyned together in one externall fellowſhip,

fellowſhip, and communion of the ſame publike profeſſion, and rule of faith, uſe of Sacraments, and Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction; for theſe make the outward forme, and as it were the ſhape of a Church, whereby this ſociety is diſcernable from other ſocieties of men: ſo that a ſociety by this outſide ſevered and diſtinguiſhed from other ſocieties, is a ſociety viſible and conſpicuous to other ſocieties of men. The queſtion therefore is, whether that holy ſociety of beleevers before mentioned, who accorded together in one common faith with us of all divine truths needfull to ſalvation, and kept themſelves free from ſuch enormious abominations and mortall errours which we now diſclaime, as utterly annihilating that common faith; whether ſuch a ſociety as this has beene in all ages, joyned and diſtinguiſhed by ſuch a common outſide from other companies, either of men in generall, or Chriſtians in ſpeciall? or in ſhorter and perhaps plainer termes thus: whether the ſociety of men of our Chriſtian beleefe hath beene in all ages for the outſide a diſtinct eccleſiaſticall corporation from other ſocieties of men?

My anſwer is, That for the firſt ages it was ſo not only thus viſible, but eaſily diſcernable from all other ſocieties of men whatſoever; but afterward when the great Apoſtaſie we ſpake of ſurprized and deformed the bountifull Spouſe of Chriſt, then was not that virgin company of Saints, our Mother, a diſtinct externall ſociety from the reſt of Chriſtendome, but a part, yea and the only ſound part of that externall and viſible body whereof our adverſaries boaſt their predeceſſors to have beene members: for howſoever this our Virgin-mother, for the internall and inviſible communion of her ſincere and unſtained faith, were a diſtinct and ſevered company from the reſt with whom ſhe lived, yet, for the common principles of the Chriſtian faith ſtill acknowledged in that corrupt body of Chriſtendome, ſhe retained communion

with them; and for the moſt part of that time of darkneſſe continued an externall part of the ſame viſible body with the reſt in groſſe call'd Chriſtians, as being begotten by the ſame Sacrament of Baptiſme (as the Iſraelites in like caſe of Circumciſion) taught in ſome part by the ſame word, and Paſtours ſtill continued amongſt them, and ſubmitting to the ſame juriſdiction and government, ſo farre as theſe or any of theſe had yet ſome ſoundneſſe remaining in them; but for the reſt which was not compatible with her ſincere and unſtained faith, and which annihilated in thoſe it ſurpriſed, even thoſe common grounds of Chriſtianity otherwiſe outwardly profeſſed, ſhe with her children either wiſely avoided all communion with it, or if they could not, then patiently ſuffered for their conſcience ſake under the hands of Tyrants, called Chriſtians, untill that Tyranny growing inſupportable, and that mortall contagion unavoidable, it pleaſed God, leſt we might have beene as *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*, to begin to call us thence at the time appointed, unto a greater liberty, as we ſee this day. As therefore when a little gold is mixed with a great quantity of baſe and counterfeit metall, ſo that of both is made but one maſſe or lump; each metall we know ſtill retaines its nature diverſe from the other, and yet outwardly and viſibly is not to be diſcerned the one from the other, but both are ſeene together as they are outwardly one, but cannot be diſtinguiſhed by the eye, as they are diverſe and ſeverall; the gold is viſible as it is one maſſe, and under the ſame outſide and figure with the reſt, yet it is truly inviſible as it is diverſe from the reſt: But when the Refiner comes and ſevers them, then will each metall appeare in his own colours, and put on his own outſide, and ſo become viſible apart from the reſt. Such is the caſe here, and ſuch was the ſtate and condition of the Church in the prevailing and great Apoſtaſie; the purer metall of the Chriſtian viſible body outwardly was not diſcernable from the baſe

and

and counterfeit, while one outside covered them, and so much the rather, because the Apostate part in a great proportion exceeding the sound, made it imperceptible; but when the time of refining came, then was our Church not first founded in the true faith (God forbid) but a part of the Christian body newly refined from such corruptions as time had gathered, even as *gold refined* begins no then first to be gold, though it begin but then to be *refined gold.*

Whatsoever we have hitherto spoken of the state of the true beleevers under the Apostasie of Antichrist, is the same which befell the true Israelites in the Apostasie of Israel. And doth not Saint *Peter* intimate that the Apostasie which should betide Christians should be like to that which we reade to have befallen Israel, 2 *Pet.* 2. 1. *There were* (saith he) *false Prophets also among the people* i. e. Israelites) *even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them.* If the Apostasie of Christians were to be of the same stamp with that of Israel, and the Heresies brought into Christendome by the false Doctors of *Babylon*, like unto those wherewith the false Prophets of Israel infected and poysoned the ancient people of God; surely we cannot finde a better patterne whereby to know what was the estate and condition of the unstained Christian beleevers under that Apostasie of the man of sinne, than that which was of the true Israelites under the Apostasie of Israel: for the right understanding whereof we must alwayes remember, That the Israelitish Church did at no time altogether renounce the true and living God, not in their worst times, but in their owne conceit and profession acknowledged him still, and were cald his people and he their God, though they worshipped others beside him: so Christians in their Apostasie neither did nor were to make an absolute Apostasie from God the Father, and Christ their Redeemer, but in an

outward profeſſion ſtill to acknowledge him, and to be cald Chriſtians, though by their Idolatry and ſpirituall whoredomes they *denied the Lord that bought them (i.e.)* whom they profeſt to be their *Redeemer*; juſt as Iſrael for the like is ſaid to have forſaken the Lord their God that brought them out of the Land of Egypt: here therefore the caſe of both is alike, let us alſo ſee the reſt. You ask, where was the true Church we ſpeake of in Antichriſts time? I ask likewiſe, where was the company of true worſhippers in *Ahabs* time? was it not ſo covered and ſcattered under the Apoſtate Iſraelites, that *Elias* himſelfe, who was one of it, could ſcarce finde it? *I am very jealous* (ſaith he) *for the Lord God of hoaſts, becauſe the children of Iſrael have forſaken thy Covenant, throwne downe thy Altars, and ſlaine thy Prophets with the ſword, and I even I alone am left, and they ſeeke my life to take it away*, 1 *Kings* 19.14. yet the Lord tells him verſe 18. *I have yet left me* 7000. *in Iſrael, all the knees which have not bowed unto Baal, and every mouth which hath not kiſſed him:* yet I trow theſe 7000. were not outwardly ſevered from the reſt of Iſrael, but remained ſtill externall members of the ſame viſible body with them. But you will except, that the true and unſtained Church in Judah was ſtill viſible and apparent: I aske you then, where was the company of the true worſhippers of Jehovah in *Manaſſes* time, the worſt time of all others? when the ten Tribes were carried captive, and but Judah and Benjamin only left, and they, as far as the eye of man can ſee, wholly and generally fallen from the Lord their God to all maner of Idols and Idolatries, like unto the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord had caſt out before the children of Iſrael, when in the Temple it ſelfe, the only place where the true God was to be worſhipped legally, were Idolatrous Altars erected, even in the houſe whereof the Lord had ſaid, *In this houſe and in Jeruſalem will I put my name for ever*; even in this houſe, this holy houſe,

2 Chron. 33.

houſe, were Idols and graven Images erected, and in both Courts Altars to *Baalim*, the Sunne, the Moone, and the whole hoaſt of heaven, the like whereof never had beene untill that time. Beſides alſo, who is able to name the man almoſt 50 yeeres together that remained a faithfull ſervant and true worſhipper of the living God in the midſt of this hideous profanation? Nor is it eaſie to be conceived how it was poſſible all that time to offer any legall ſacrifice without Idolatry, when Gods owne Temple and houſe was made a den of Idols, nay his Altar, the onely Altar of Iſrael deſtroyed, to make roome for Altars erected to Idols, as may be gathered 2 *Chron.* 33.15, 16. where was the true Church of Iſrael now? or had the Lord no Church at all? yes certainely, he had a Church and a company which defiled not their garments, a company (I ſay) but not viſibly diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of their nation, but hidden as it were in the midſt of that Apoſtate body, and yet knowne together with the reſt to be Iſraelites and people of Jehovah; but knowne to God only and themſelves to be true Iſraelites and faithfull ſervants to Jehovah their God. And that ſuch a company there was, and a ſtrong party too, though not ſeene, appeared preſently upon the death of *Manaſſes* and his wicked ſon, when *Joſiah* began to reign at eight yeares of age, for they then prevailed even in the Court it ſelfe, and ſo brought up the King, that even yet while he was young, in the eighth yeare of his reigne, he began to ſeek after the Lord God of *David* his father, and in the twelfth yeare to make a publick and powerfull reformation, ſuch as the like was never done before him. Could all this have been done ſo ſoon, and by a King ſo young in yeares, and to carry all before it like a torrent, unleſſe there had beene a ſtrong party, which now having a King for them, began quickly to ſhew themſelves, and to ſway the ſtate, though before they were hardly to be ſeene.

When

When therefore our adverſaries ask us where our Church was before *Luther*, we ſee by this what we have to anſwer.

OF the two firſt particulars of the foure, whereby the *great Apoſtaſie* of Chriſtian beleevers is here deciphered, I have ſpoken ſufficiently; *viz.* firſt, for the *kind* and *quality* thereof, it ſhould be a new *Doctrine of Demons*: ſecondly, that for the *perſons revolting*, they ſhould not be *all*, but *ſome*. Now I am to ſpeak of the third, the *time when*, ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς, *in the latter times*.

For the eaſier underſtanding whereof, we muſt know that ſpeeches of *laſt times* in Scripture meane ſometimes a *continuation or length of time*, ſometimes an *end of time*: A *continuation of time* I meane, as when we ſay the winter is the laſt *time* or ſeaſon of the yeare, or old age the *latter time* of life, neither of them being the very end, but a ſpace of time next the end, which therefore, in reſpect of ſome *whole ſyſteme of time*, whereof it is the laſt part, is truly termed the laſt time thereof. Mans *life* is a *ſyſteme* of *divers ages*, the *laſt ſpace* whereof is the *laſt time* of *life*. The *yeare* is a *ſyſteme* of foure *ſeaſons*, and therefore the *laſt ſeaſon* thereof, *winter*, may be cald the *laſt time* of the *yeare*. But by an *end of time* I meane the very *expiring* of *time*, as the *laſt day* of *December* is the *end* or *laſt time* of the *yeare*; the moment when a man dies, is the *laſt time* (*i.e.*) the *end* of his life. Now in the New Teſtament, when by mention of *laſt time* is meant an *end* or *terminus temporis*, I obſerve it to be expreſt in the *ſingular number*, as ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ being foure times mentioned in the ſixth of *John*, and once in the eleventh, is in every one of them meant of the *day* of the *reſurrection* at the *end* of the world; *I will raiſe him up*, ſaith our Saviour, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, *in the laſt day*, *John* 6. 39, 40. 44, 54. And *Martha* of her brother *Lazarus*, *I know* (ſaith ſhe) *he ſhall riſe againe in the reſurrection*, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ

ἡμέρᾳ *at the laſt day*, *John* 11.24. So 1 *Pet.* 1.5. ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ *the laſt time*, is uſed in the ſelfe ſame ſenſe, being ſpoken of the *incorruptible inheritance reſerved in heaven, and to be revealed* (ſaith the Apoſtle) ἐν καιρῷ ἐσχάτῳ *in the laſt time*; in all which is meant the *end* of the *world*. But in 1 *John* 2.18. we have ἐσχάτη ὥρα *the laſt houre*; *Little children it is the laſt houre*, where no doubt he meaneth an *end* of *ſome time*, but not an *end* of the *world*, which was then afarre off; but an *end* of their *time*, to whom he then wrote his Epiſtle (*i.e.*) an *end* of the *Jewiſh ſtate*, and *religion*, which was then at the very doore: which expoſition I will make more plain hereafter.

But when a *continuation* or *longer ſpace of time* is ſignified, then I find the *plurall number* to be uſed, as 1 *Pet.* 1.20. of the Incarnation of Chriſt it is ſaid, that *he was fore-ordained before the foundation of the world, but was made manifeſt* ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν χρόνων *in the laſt times*, which times have continued theſe 1600 yeares at the leaſt: ſo *Heb.* 1.2. *God* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν *in theſe laſt dayes hath ſpoken unto us by his ſonne*; and 2 *Tim.* 3.1. *This know alſo* ὅτι ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις *that in the laſt dayes perillous times ſhall come*. Again, *Acts.* 2.17. *In the laſt dayes I will poure out my ſpirit upon all fleſh*; and in 2 *Pet.* 3.3. ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν *in the laſt dayes ſhall come ſcoffers*. And ſo in my Text, ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς, *In the latter times ſome ſhall revolt from the faith, and give heed to doctrines of Damons*.

Whatſoever the validity of this obſervation be, for the reſt I make no queſtion but it will be granted, that ὕστεροι καιροὶ in my Text means ſome *continued ſpace* of time, and not *terminus temporis*, or the *very end of time*: which therefore preſuppoſed, I approach one ſtep neerer, laying this for a ſecond ground of our diſcovery, that theſe ὕστεροι καιροὶ, whereof Saint *Paul* ſpeakes and meanes, were *times* not *then preſent*, but *afterward to come*; for the words of the Text are not a narration of things preſent, but a pre-

diction (as I have already admonished) of what should betide the Christian faith in after times, yet notwithstanding were the *times* wherein Saint *Paul lived*, and all the *times* of *Christianity*, the *last times*, and so stiled in Scripture even by our Apostle himselfe, as by some of the fore-cited examples evidently appeareth: wherefore it must needs follow, that *times* here meant and mentioned in my Text, are not the *last times* in *generall* and *simply*, but the *last times* in *speciall* and *comparatively (i.e.)* the *latter times* of the *last times*. That as the *last times* in *generall* were the *times* wherein *Christ* the Sunne of righteousnesse was to be *revealed*, and his kingdome founded in the world; so the *latter times* of these *last times* should be the *times* wherein the Apostasie of the *Christian faith* should *prevaile*, and that wicked one usurp the throne of Christ.

Before therefore that we can know what are the *last times comparatively (i.e.)* the *latter times*, or the *last* of the *last*, we must first understand, what are the *last times simply* and in *generall*, why so called, whence reckoned, and how limited; for then will these *latter times* in my Text, which are the *last part* of them, be easily found, and in a manner demonstrated.

Targ Eccles. 11. expounds *In novissimis diebus Regis Christi.*

As for the *last times* therefore in *generall*, most use to describe them onely thus, to be the times of the kingdome of Christ which began at his passion to continue to the end of the world, which in respect that it succeeds the legall worship and no other shall succeed, it is therefore the *last time*. In like manner the ὕστεροι καιροὶ allotted to the man of sinne are (as I take it) usually no otherwise described, then to be the times wherein the Apostasie should appeare, which in that it should immediately precede the second coming of Christ, is therefore to be esteemed the last times of all; but these descriptions are *obscurum per magis obscurum*, they doe declare an obscure thing by that which was and is more obscure than it, and therefore

fore come ſhort of making good the intent of the *Holy Ghoſt* in his ſo often mention of the *laſt times*, eſpecially in the New Teſtament; for the *laſt times* or *fulneſſe of time* were both a ground of the Jewes expectation of Chriſt when he came, and are without doubt ſo often propounded and alledged by the Apoſtles for a confirmation of the truth of his comming: but if the *laſt times* could not be knowne but by his comming, how ſhould his comming be knowne by them? ſo alſo the Holy Ghoſt in my Text mentions theſe ὕστεροι καιροὶ for an argument or ſigne of the Apoſtaſie to fall out therein, or for a note or mark of time wherein we ſhould look for it, and therefore as forewarned beware of being carried away in that defection; but if theſe times cannot be knowne nor deſcribed any other way than by the defection to fall out in them, we ſhould be never a whit the nearer, and this mark of time which the Holy Ghoſt gives us would ſtand us in no ſtead at all. Let us therefore now take this as a truth to be ſuppoſed, that the times are ſet out unto us to be as markes to informe us when that ſhould come to paſſe which was to fall out in them, and not the things which were to befall, intended for ſignes to know the times by; and therefore we are not to doubt but that the Holy Ghoſt hath ſomewhere elſe, by ſome other marks and grounds of computation, made knowne unto us when to reckon *both the laſt times*, wherein was foretold that Chriſt ſhould be anointed, and theſe *latter times of them* wherein the Chriſtian Apoſtaſie ſhould be revealed, that ſo we might have a ſure beliefe in the one, and a certaine and ſufficient mark when to beware of the other.

μαρτύριον ἰδίοις καιροῖς, 1 Tim. 2 6.

The prophanation of the legall Sanctuary, and trampling down the holy people by *Antiochus Epiphanes* was marked out in *Daniels* propheſie by the like circumſtance and determination of time, as is this Apoſtaſie here in our Apoſtles prediction, *Dan.* 8. 23. *In the latter time*, or, *in the*

באחרית מלכותם
LXX. ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν.

latter end of the kingdome of Grecia, a King of a fierce countenance shall stand up, viz. he who should *magnifie himself e against the Prince of the hoast of heaven, and take away the daily sacrifice, &c.* as it is in the vision which was foreshewed of him *ver.* 10. 11. where it would be preposterous to think, that this *latter time* or end of the Greekes kingdome could not be defined otherwise than by the event to fall out therein, and not rather conceive that this determination of time, being such as might otherwise well enough be knowne, was therefore intended for a character to observe the event by. For when was this latter end of the Greekes kingdome to be taken notice of, but then when they should see that kingdome begin to be given to another people? when the *fourth kingdome*, the Romane state, should once begin to encroach upon the third, especially when they should see the head Province thereof Greece it selfe to come under their obedience: when they should see this, then were they to prepare themselves for the *abomination of desolation* that was now at the door. And surely the event was most punctuall; for this Roman encroachment, having beene for 28 yeeres together attempting manifestly and advancing, was at length accomplished, when *Æmilius* the Consul having quite vanquished *Perseus* the King of Macedon, all Greece came under the Romane obedience, 166 yeers afore the birth of Christ; which no sooner was come to passe, but the very selfe same yeere, within lesse than three moneths after, *Antiochus* sets up the *abomination of desolation* in the Temple of Jerusalem. Why should we not then beleeve that the Holy Ghost intendeth here to give us as sure a watch-word, when to beware of the man of sinne, by this circumstance of *latter times* here in my text, as we see he gave the Jewes to look for the persecution and prophanation by *Antiochus*.

Therefore without any more preambles, I come now directly to resolve what was before propounded, *viz.*

what

what is meant by laſt times in generall, whence and how we are to reckon them; and then in the ſecond place what are theſe ἔσχατοι καιροὶ in my text, which muſt be, as I ſaid before, a latter part of that generall.

For the true account therefore of times in Scripture, we muſt have recourſe to that SACRED KALENDAR and GREAT ALMANACK of PROPHESIE, the foure kingdomes of *Daniel*, which are a *propheticall chronology* of times meaſured by the ſucceſſion of foure principall kingdomes, from the beginning of the captivity of Iſrael, untill the myſtery of God ſhould be finiſhed; a courſe of time during which the Church and Nation of the Jewes, together with thoſe whom by occaſion of their unbeleefe in Chriſt, God ſhould ſurrogate in their roomes, was to remain under the bondage of the Gentiles, and oppreſſion of Gentiliſme; but theſe times once finiſhed, all the *kingdomes* of this world ſhould become the *kingdome of our Lord and his Chriſt*. And to this *great Calendar of times*, together with that other but *leſſer Calendar of* 70 *weekes*, all mention of *times* in Scripture ſeemes to have reference. Now theſe *foure kingdomes*, according to the truth infallibly to be demonſtrated if need were, and agreeable both to the ancient opinion of the Jewiſh [a] Church whom they moſt concerned, and to the moſt ancient and univerſall [b] opinions of Chriſtians derived from the times of the Apoſtles (untill now of late time ſome have queſtioned it) are, 1 The *Babylonian*. 2 That of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. 3 The *Greekes*. 4 The *Romane*. In which quaternary of kingdomes, as the *Romane*, being the laſt of the foure, is the *laſt kingdome*, ſo are the *times* thereof theſe *laſt times* we ſeeke for, during which times ſaith *Daniel*, *cap.*2.*v.*44. *The God of heaven ſhall ſet up a kingdome which ſhall never be deſtroyed, nor left unto another people, but it ſhall breake in pieces, and conſume all theſe kingdomes, and it ſhall ſtand for ever*: which is figured by a

a *Vide Targ. Habac.*3.17.

b *Vide Cyril. Hieroſol. catech.* 15. *p.* 337. & *Hieron. locum infra citatum.*

ſtone hewen out of the mountaine without hands, before the times of the Image were yet ſpent: which ſtone at length *ſmote the Image upon his feet of Iron and Clay*, and ſo utterly deſtroyed it; that done, the *ſtone* that *ſmote the Image upon the feet* became a great *mountaine*, *and filled the whole earth*: the meaning of all which is, that in the *laſt times*, or under the *times* of the *laſt kingdome*, (the Romane) ſhould the *kingdome of Chriſt* appeare in the world, as we ſee it hath done; and this is that which the Apoſtle ſaith *Heb.1.2. God in theſe laſt dayes*, or laſt times, *hath ſpoken to us by his Sonne*: and Saint *Peter* 1 *Ep.1.20.* that he was *fore-ordained before the foundation of the world*, *but was manifeſted in theſe laſt times.* This is that *fulneſſe of time* whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaks *Gal.4.4. When the fulneſſe of time was come, God ſent forth his Son made of a woman*: and *Epheſ.1.10. Having made knowne to us the myſtery of his will, that in the diſpenſation of the fulneſſe of times, he might gather together in one all things in Chriſt.*

Add here that of Chriſt himſelfe, *Mar.1.15. The time is fulfilled, and the kingdome of God is at hand* Huc quoque pertinet illud, 1 *Tim.2.6*: μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίοις.

Agreeable unto all which is that *Heb.9.26. Chriſt hath once appeared* ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων *in the end of times*, or ages, *to put away ſinne by the ſacrifice of himſelf*: where theſe *laſt times*, *fulneſſe of time*, and *concluſion of ages*, are nothing elſe but the *times* of the *fourth kingdome*, whoſe times are the laſt period of *Daniels* foure; the fulneſſe of propheticall chronologie, and concluſion of the *ſacred Calendar*: during theſe times, Chriſt was looked for, and accordingly came, and reigned; whoſe kingdome ſhall at length aboliſh the brittle remainder of the Romane ſtate, according to the other part of the propheſie, when the fulneſſe of the Gentiles ſhall come in, and our Lord ſubdue all his enemies under his feet, and at the laſt death it ſelfe.

Having thus found what times are termed the *laſt times* in *generall*, let us now ſee if we can diſcover which are the *latter times* of theſe *laſt times*, or the *laſt times* in *ſpeciall*,

ſpeciall, which are theſe ὕστεροι καιροὶ in my Text: which will not be hard to doe; for if the *laſt times* in *generall* are all the times of the *fourth kingdome*, then muſt our *latter times* as a part thereof needs be the latter times of that kingdome. Let us therefore againe to our *prophetticall Calendar*, and ſurvey *Daniels* deſcription of the fourth or Romane kingdome as it is *cap.*7. from *ver.*29. where we ſhall finde the latter times thereof to be that period of *a time, times, and halfe a time*, during which that prodigious *Horne with eyes like a man, and mouth ſpeaking great things, ſhould make warre with the Saints, prevaile againſt them, and weare them out, and thinke to change times and lawes, untill the judgement ſhould ſit, and his dominions be taken away*; and in him that long-liv'd Beaſt finally be deſtroyed, and his *body given to the burning flame*, *v.*11. for this *Horniſh ſoveraignty* is the *laſt Scene* of that *long Tragedy*, and the *concluſion* of the *fourth beaſt*, and therefore the times thereof are thoſe ὕστεροι καιροὶ whereof the *Spirit ſpeakes expreſly*, that in them there ſhould be an *Apoſtaſie from the Chriſtian faith.*

καιρὸς, καιροὶ καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ.

Concerning theſe times thus found, we will now further enquire, 1 What durance they may be of. 2 When they take beginning, and by what mark their beginning may be knowne. For the firſt, we will make no queſtion but theſe are the ſelfe ſame times whereof Saint *John* ſpeakes, telling us the Church ſhould be in the wilderneſſe a *Time, Times, and halfe a Time*; the ſame with thoſe *two and forty moneths* wherein *Johns reſtored beaſt* ſhould domineere, and play the ſelfe-ſame reax which *Daniels horniſh tyrant* doth; the ſame time with thoſe two and forty moneths during which the *Church is trodden downe of the Gentiles*: laſtly, the ſame times with 1260. *dayes*, during which the *witneſſes of Chriſt propheſied in ſackcloth, for a time, times, and halfe a time*; or a yeare, two yeares, and halfe, are 42 moneths, and 42 moneths make 1260. dayes: if therefore we can finde the

the beginning and continuance of any of theſe, we have found the beginning and continuance of them all. For the *duration* and *length* of them, they muſt imply ſome *definitive times*, becauſe the Scripture followes that uſe of ſpeech, and uſeth no number indefinitely, but thoſe which the uſe of ſpeech had made ſuch, as 1. 10. 1000. but mixt and compound numbers, as theſe are, 3½. 42. 1260. are neither in the Hebrew, nor I think in any other language uſed indefinitely.

Our adverſaries would have them literally underſtood for *three ſingle yeers and a half*, as though it were an *Hiſtory*, and not a *Propheſie*: but beſides the uſe of propheſie to reckon dayes for yeers, I think it would trouble any man to conceive how ſo many things as ſhould be performed in this time, ſhould be done in three ſingle yeeres and a halfe. 1 Ten kingdomes founded at the ſame time with the Beaſt. 2 Peoples, and multitudes of nations and tongues to ſerve and obey him. 3 To make warre with the Saints and overcome them. 4 To cauſe all that dwell upon the earth to worſhip him. 5 Babylon to ride the Beaſt ſo long, that all nations ſhall drinke of the wine of her fornication, the Kings of the earth commit fornication with her, yea the Merchants and all thoſe that had ſhips in the ſea, to grow rich by trading with her. Me thinks all this ſhould ask much more than three yeeres works, or foure either. To which I adde moreover, that that ſtate of government, ſoveraignty or ſeigniory, or what you will, of the Beaſt, under which the whore ſhould ride him, followeth immediately upon a former, which in compariſon is ſaid to laſt but a *ſhort ſpace*, *Rev.* 17. 20. But if the Antichriſtian ſtate ſhould continue but *three yeers and a half* literally taken, how ſhort muſt the time of that foregoing King or ſoveraignty be which ſhould occaſion the Holy Ghoſt to inſert ſo ſingular a note of the difference thereof from that which followed, that it ſhould *continue but a ſhort ſpace*: doth not this imply, that the

the next state wherin the whore should ride the beast, was to continue a long space: therefore 3 yeers & a half historically taken, cannot be the time of the Churches Apostasie, and the Antichristian soveraignty of *Rome*: and if it cannot be taken historically, it must be taken *prophetically*, every day for a yeer, & so 1260 dayes counted so many yeers, shewes the extent of those ὕστεροι καιροὶ to be 1260 yeers.

Now for the second thing proposed, the *beginning* of these ὕστεροι καιροὶ; Saint *John* tells us in the *Revelation*, that his blasphemous Beast of 42 moneths continuance should succeed upon the mortall wound of the Cæsarian or Imperiall soveraignty of *Rome*: And *Apoc.* 17. the Idolatrous Beast which carries the great Whore upon his back, should have a plurality of Kings start up at the same time with him, who should agree to submit their power and kingdome unto this whore-ridden Beast; and would not he also in the same chapter have us take notice, that the Antichristian state of the Beast which was to come, should be next to that of the *Cæsars* which then reigned? for the Angell there tels him, that that state of the beast, wherein the Whore should ride him, which was then not in being, but should afterward ascend out of the bottomlesse pit, and goe into perdition; that this state or head of the beast should succeed so immediately upon the sixth state or head, *viz.* the Cæsarian then reigning, that howsoever in some respects it might be called an eighth, yet should in very deed be but the seventh; for how could it be otherwise, when the Beast in the vision hath but seven heads and no more? *vide ver.* 8. 10. 11. Agreeable to this is Saint *Pauls* Epocha, 2 *Thes.* 2. 7. who tels us, that as soone as the Imperiall soveraignty of *Rome*, which then hindered, should be taken out of the way, then should *that wicked one be revealed*: * thus the Fathers generally expound it. Hence was that custome in the Church, in the most ancient times of it, to pray in their Lyturgy for the lasting of the Roman Empire, that so

* *Tertul. de resurrect. c. 24. Ambros. comment. in hunc locum. Hieron. q. 11. ad Algasiam. & præfat. in l. 8. comment. in Ezek. Chrysost. comment. in hunc locum. Aug. lib. 19 c. 20 de civit. Dei, sed non tam asseverantèr ut cæteri Cyrillus Hierosolym κατηχ. 11.*

so Antichrist might be long acomming, *Tertul. apol. cap. 32. & 39. Ad Scap. c. 2.* Upon this ground Saint *Jerome*, when ho heard of the taking of *Rome* by *Alaricus* the Goth, presently expected the comming of Antichrist, *Ad Ageruchiam de Monogamia*; *Qui tenebat* (saith he) *de medio fit, & non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare.* Idem præfat. l. 8. Comment. in Ezec. *Pascitur animus, & obliviscitur seculi calamitatum, quòd in extremo fine jam positum congemiscit, & parturit, donec qui tenet de medio fiat, & pedes statuæ quondam ferrei fragilitate digitorum fictilium conterantur: Cadit mundus, & Cervix erecta non flectitur, &c.* Thus he. *Postquam clarissimum terrarum omnium Lumen extinctum est, imo Romani Imperii truncatum caput, & in una urbe totus orbis interiit*; as he elsewhere deplores that wofull calamity, *Præf. l. 1. Comment. in Ezek.* Answerable to that which Saint *John* told us; *Daniels* Calendar also informes us, that the *horrisht Tyrant* who was to act the ὕστερον χρόνον, should then begin to appeare, when ten kings should arise in the fourth kingdome, for the *ten horns* which at last he espied upon the Beasts head, and observed a *little horn* with eyes & a mouth to spring up amongst them, & displant three of them, *v.* 8. the Angel *v.* 24. expounds to be *ten kings* which should arise out of that kingdome, and another, to wit Antichrist, should arise * *behind them*, so it should be translated as the 70 doth ὄπισω αὐτῶν, *which should be diverse from the first*; (that is, a King of another nature) and should *bring downe* or *humble* three Kings, and play those reax which follow in the Text. Thus the Fathers universally and from the utmost antiquity expound this Scripture: *Justin. Mart. Dialog. cum Tryphone* takes it for granted that this horne is ὁ τὰ ἀνοσιώτατα ἀνθρωπος, *qui iniqua in nos Christianos audebit. Irenæus* scholar to *Policarp, l. 5. c. 21. aliis 25.* saith, *Daniel novissimi regni finem respiciens, id est, novissimos decem reges, in quo dividerentur regnum illorum, super quos filius perditionis veniet, cornua*

* *Chald.* אחריהון.

יהשפיל שפל

Vulg. humiliabit. Lxx. ταπεινώσει *Irenæus*, deminorabit, vel, (ut in alio exemplari) dehonorabit. *Vatab.* opprimet. *Junius*, deprimet.

cornua ditiè decem naſci beſtiâ, &c. Yea a little after hee tels us, that Saint *John* in his ten Kings which ſhould re-receive their kingdomes at one houre with the Beaſt, expounds this of *Daniel*, *Manifeſtius adhuc de noviſſimo tempore & de his qui ſunt in eo decem regibus, in quos dividetur quod nunc regnat imperium; ſignificavit Johannes Domini diſcipulus in Apocalypſi ediſſerens quæ fuerint decem cornua quæ à Daniele viſa ſunt, &c.* Nay Saint *Jerome* in his Comment upon this ſeventh chapter of *Daniel* will give us to underſtand, that all the Eccleſiaſticall Writers delivered this to be the true expoſition; for having there confuted *Porphyrie*, who to derogate from the divinity of this propheſie would have it meant of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and therefore written when the event was paſt: he concludeth thus, *Ergo dicamus quod omnes Scriptores Eccleſiaſtici tradiderunt: in conſummatione mundi, quando regnum deſtruendum eſt Romanorum, decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanum inter ſe dividant, & undecimum ſurrecturum eſſe Regem parvulum, qui tres reges de decem regibus ſuperaturus ſit, in quo totus Satanas habitaturus ſit corporaliter.* Who theſe three Kings were which this horne diſplanted to make himſelfe elbow-roome, you ſhall heare more anon: but I will not conceale what I have heard of another expoſition, which fits our turne for the beginning of the Apoſtaſie no leſſe than that of the Fathers; namely, that by ten kingdomes may be meant the full plurality of the Romane Provinces, ſo much whereof as three is of ten ſhould have the Imperiall power rooted out of them, and fall under the Dominion of the Antichriſtian Horne, who ſhould act the ſoveraignty of the latter times, or the laſt ſoveraignty of that kingdome. Now it is moſt true that the Popes Patriarchdome in the Weſt holds juſt that ſcantling of the ancient Territory of the Roman Empire, which a man may judge by his eyes, or compaſſes in a Mapp: and yet I preferre the other expoſition before it.

To come up to an iſſue: It is apparent by all that hath bin ſaid, that theſe ὕστεροι καιροὶ, with that wicked ſoveraignty which ſhould domineer in them, was to take beginning from the wound, the fall, the ruine, the rending in pieces, or rooting up of the Imperial ſoveraignty of the City of *Rome*, when that City ſhould ceaſe to be the Lap of that ſoveraignty which the *Caſars* once held over the Nations; and many new upſtart Kings ſhould appeare in the place and Territory of that once one Empire; then ſhould the Apoſtaſie be ſeen, and the *latter times* with that wicked one make their entrance. Now in what age this fell out I think no man can be ignorant, who hath but a little skill in Hiſtorie.

But you will ſay, The Imperiall ſoveraignty of old *Rome* fell not all at once, but had divers ſteps and degrees of ruine, ſo that the doubt will be notwithſtanding, from which of theſe ſteps of the fall thereof theſe *latter times* muſt be reckoned?

I anſwer, From any of them. For as the Imperiall ſoveraignty fell by degrees, ſo the Apoſtaſie under the lattermoſt ſoveraignty grew up alſo by degrees; and for every degree which the ruinous Empire decayed, was the riſing ſonne of perdition a degree advanced. Secondly, all the maine and evident degrees of the Empires ruine fell in the compaſſe of an age, and the knowledge and obſervation of that age onely, within which the times of this fall were comprehended, was ſufficient both to warn them which then lived, that that which was to come, was then a comming, and to informe us who now live, that it is already come.

Now which were theſe maine and evident degrees of the Empires falling, and at what time, I will tell you as ſoon as I have removed an uſuall miſtake in this buſineſſe, which is to reckon the time of the Empires ruine, and ſo likewiſe the Apoſtaſie attending, onely from the ἀκμὴ or full heigth thereof; but this is too much againſt reaſon,

and

and not agreeable to the course wee otherwise use in the like: for as when we reckon the age of a man, we reckon not from the time since he came to mans estate, but from his birth; so should we doe here for the times of the man of sinne: I say not, we should begin to count his age from his conception, for that we use not in other things; but from the time he was first *editus in lucem*, when he first began to appeare in the world: and so likewise the fall of the Empire and the Apostasie, not from the time they were consummate, but from the time they first evidently appeared; as therefore I hold their opinion the best and most agreeable to truth, who begin the 70 yeeres of the Jewish captivity in Babylon, not from the consummation thereof under *Zedekiah*, when the City and Temple were utterly rased, for that is impossible, there being not * 60 yeeres in all betweene the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the last of *Cyrus*; but from the beginning thereof under *Jehojakim*, eighteen yeers before, or at the most but from *Jehojakim*. So are these ὕστεροι καιροὶ of the Romane state to begin when the Empire first began to fall, and not when it was utterly rooted up. Take for another example, that computation of the time allotted to the calamity of the Jewes under *Antiochus*, which I the rather alledge, because he is commonly counted for a type of Antichrist: the beginning of that 2300 *evenings and mornings*, or six yeeres, or somewhat more than a quarter, which that calamity was to continue, from the beginning thereof, untill the Temple should again be cleansed, *Dan.*8.13,14. was not to be reckoned from the heigth thereof, when the daily sacrifice should be taken away (for thence it is but three yeers, 1 *Mac.*1. 54 &c. with *c.*4.52.) but from the beginning of the transgression which occasioned this desolation, and is described 1 *Mac.*1.11 &c. so likewise the end of the kingdome of the Greekes, wherein this calamity was to happen, is not to be counted onely then when *Æmilius* the Consul had

* As infallibly appeares in that long wanting Mathematicall Canon of *Ptolomy*, now of late brought to light out of one of our Libraries.

quite finished the conquest of *Macedon* (for this points out onely the heigth of that calamity) but from the beginning of the last fatall warre which put an end to that kingdome; which was about some three yeeres and an halfe before, and jumps with the beginning of the transgression of desolation, as the finishing of the conquest doth with the taking away of the daily sacrifice.

Bellum Macedonicum secundum.

But leaving this, let us returne againe and see which were these *maine* and *evident degrees* of the Empires *downfall*, and when they befell; which I suppose may not unfitly be sampled by those of the Babylonish captivity. As therefore the Babylonish captivity had three steps or degrees, the first in the dayes of *Jehojakim*, when *Daniel* went captive; the second under *Jehoiachim*, or *Jechonias*, when *Ezechiel* went captive; the last under *Zedekiah*, when the Temple and City were wholly razed and consumed: so (omitting the Politicall change under *Constantine*) the chiefe and principall moments of the ruine of the Empire by the sword (and by the sword the Beast had his deadly wound, *Apoc.*13.14.) may fitly be reduced unto three.

1 The first was presently after the death of *Julian*, the last of heathen Emperours, about the yeere 365. ominously marked with that universall, stupendious, and never but then sampled earthquake, [a] whereby the waters of the Sea were rolled out of their channels, and left ships hanging upon the tops of houses. From this time forwards all the nations on every side seeme as it were with one consent to have conspired the ruine of the Empire. [b] Now that terrible and fatall storme of the nations of the North, *Alwaines*, *Sarmatians*, *Quades*, *Picts*, *Scots*,

a *Ammian. Marcel. lib* 26. c.31. Horrendi tremores per omnem orbis ambitum grassati sunt subitò, quales nec fabulæ nec veri-

di æ nobis antiquitates exponunt, &c. *Hieron. in vita Hilarionis.* b Hoc tempore velut per universum Orbem Romanum canentibus buccinis, excitæ gentes sævissimæ, limites sibi proximos persultabant, Gallias, Rhetiasque, simul Alemanni populabantur; Sarmatæ, Pannonias, & Quadi, Picti, Saxones, & Scoti, & Attacotti Britannos, assumis vexavere continuis: Thracias deripiebant prædatorii Globi Gothorum, &c. *Ammian. ibid. cap.*10.

and

and *Saxons*, especially the *Goths*, began to break in upon it almost without intermission, harrying, burning, wasting, destroying the most part of the Provinces thereof almost for c 45 yeeres together. And to mend the matter, the *Goths* soone after their comming were admitted as Inhabitants, and dispersed as free Denizens into the bowels and heart of the Empire, advanced to be Commanders, and bore the greatest sway in their Armies. d By which fatall errour the Empire received her bane, and the Romanes were no longer masters of their owne strength, which they quickly and often repented; but even that cost them deare, when they had indeed eyes to see it, but never ability to amend it. This was the first degree of the Empires ruine.

c *Hieron. epist. 3.* Ante annum 400. viginti & eo amplius anni sunt quòd inter *Constantinopolin & Alpes Iulias* quotidiè Romanus sanguis effunditur. Scythiam, Thraciam, Macedoniam, Daciam, Dardaniam, Thessalonicam, Achaiam, Epiros, Dalmatiam, cunctasque Pannonias, Gothus, Sarmata, Quadus, Alanus, Hunni, Vandali, Marcomanni vastant, rapiunt. Romanus orbis ruit. Quid putas nunc animi habere Corinthios, Athenienses, Lacedæmonios, Arcadas, cunctamque Græciam, quibus imperant Barbari? d *Synesius Orat. ad Arcadium Augustum.* Quomodo enim ferre possumus partes viriles in nostra Republica, alienorum & externorum esse, & fortissimũ Imperium concedere aliis bellicæ gloriæ principatum? neque enim dubitandum est fore, ut illi aliquando armis instructi hominum urbanorum se Dominos esse velint. Quod priusquam eveniat, revocandi sunt nobis Romanorum animi, & ita assuefaciendi, ut ipsi suo Marte vincere & possint & velint: nec omnino societatem cum Barbaris ineant, sed eos omnes despiciant, omnique loco funditùs pellant. Primùm igitur Magistratu ejiciantur, & procul à Curiæ honoribus arceantur, quibus per summum dedecus ea obvenerunt, quæ diu apud Romanos habita sunt, & reipsa fuerunt apud eos honestissima: Nam & Deam *Themidem*, quæ Senatui, & *Bellonam*, quæ Exercitui præsidet, obvelare se arbitror, cùm cernant hominem penulâ scorteâ indutum ducem esse chlamydatorium, & villosam pœnulam exuentem, togam sumere, & de summa rerum cum Romano Magistratu consulere, propè ipsum consulem sedentem, longè post eum sedentibus iis, quibus honos ille jure optimo debebatur. *Paulo post.* Apud nos Exercitus magni sunt, nostrisque servis Scythis sanguine conjuncti, qui nescio quo infœlici fato in Romanum Imperium irruerunt, illi suos duces habent magnæ authoritatis viros non solùm apud eos ipsos, sed etiam apud nos, quod malum nostra dedit socordia nobis. *Paulo post de Theodosio.* Ille supplicantes (*scil. Gothos*) erexit, & belli socios ascivit, & civitate donavit, & omnium bonorum participes fecit, & partem Romani agri iis attribuit; At illi quod pater tuus mitem se iis præbuit, nos in hunc usque diem deridենt, sed id prius fecerat *Valens, Anno* 374. —— (*Vide Socratem lib.* 4. *cap.* 27.) —— *De quo sic Paulus Diaconus Histor. Miscell. lib.* 12. *cap.* 14. Hunnos, Gothi, transito

transito Danubio, fugientes, à *Valente* sine ulla fœderis pactione suscepti sunt, tribuens eis terras Thraciarum ad habitandum, arbitratus præparatum solatium ab eis habere contra omnes barbaros; hâc prorè Milites de cœtero negligebat, & eos qui dudum contra hostes elaboraverant, Imperator despiciebat, &c. —— Hoc ergo fuit initium, ut in illo tempore Romana Respublica calamitatibus subderetur. Barbari namque cùm Thracias tenuissent, licenter Romanorum vastabant provincias, &c.

2 The second was about the yeere 410, when *Alaricus* the Goth sacked *Rome* it selfe, the Lady of the world, when, as Saint *Jerome* saith, *Capiebatur urbs quæ totum cepit orbem, imo fame periit antequam gladio, & vix pauci qui caperentur inventi sunt.* And from this very yeere the plurality of Kings foretold of, began to come upon the stage; five or six new kingdomes presently appeared within the Territories of the Empire, of the *Goths*, of the *Burgundians*, and though somewhat later, of the *Franks* in *Gallia*, of the *Suevians* and *Alans*, and of the *Vandals* in *Spaine*, and, as *Sigonius* thinks, of the *Huns* in *Pannonia*: certainly they could not be much later than this very yeere. But this number of Kings we will leave till they be better increased, as continually they did. And thus you see the second degree of the ruine of the Empire.

3 The third was about the yeere 455, presently upon the death of the third *Valentinian*, the last (as *Sleidan* well observed) of the Emperours of the West, and consequently of the ancient *Rome*; then when *Genfericus* the Vandall tooke the City now the second time, fired it, and spoiled it of all the goodly and glorious ornaments which *Alaricus* had spared, amongst which were the golden and silver vessels of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, * brought thi-

* *Paulus Diaconus Hist. Misc. prout ex codice Palatino edidit Ianus Gruterus.* Quatuordecim interim dies securâ & liberâ direptione omnibus opibus suis & miraculis Roma vacuata est. In quibus erant Ecclesiastica κειμήλια tota ex auro & lapidibus pretiosis ornata, & vasa Hebraica quæ *Titus Vespasiani* filius post captivitatem Hierosolymitarum Romam detulerat; multaque millia captivorum. —Cum Regina *Eudoxia* quæ *Genfericum* ad hoc facinus invitaverat, duabusque ejus filiabus, Carthaginem abducta sunt.

ther

ther by *Titus*: All which, with an innumerable multitude of Roman captives, he carried away with him. Now was the prediction which *Varro* reports that *Vettius Valens* the Augur made of 12 Vulturs to *Romulus* the founder, that his City ſhould continue 12 hundred yeeres, fulfilled, and thoſe yeeres newly expired; and, which is more to be heeded, now was the plurality of Kings lately riſen in the ancient Territorie of the Empire, as *Daniel* and Saint *Iohn* had propheſied, increaſed unto the full number of ten, which, together with the Provinces wherein they were ſeated, and the names of the Kings which reigned the next yeare after the City was taken, are theſe which follow.

ANNO DOMINI 456.

Kingdomes of the	Provinces.	Names of the Kings reigning.	Somewhat of their changes.
1 *Britans.*	In *Britaine.*	*Vortimer.*	
2 *Saxons.*		*Hengist.*	
3 *Franks.*	In *Gallia.*	*Childericke.*	*An.* 526. this kingdome was subdued by the *Franks*, but to fill up the number, that of the *Ostrogoths* became two by the comming of the *Longobards* into *Pannonia* the same time.
4 *Burgundians.*		*Gundericke.*	
5 *Wisigothes.*	In the South of *Gallia* between the *Rhene*, *Loyr* and the Sea, and part of *Spain.*	*Theoderick.*	
6 *Swevians* and *Alanes.*	*Spain* in *Gallicia* and *Portugal.*	*Riciarius.*	
7 *Vandals.*	In *Africke*, but first in *Spain.*	*Gensericus.*	
8 *Almaines.*	*Germany* in *Rhetia* between the *Rheme*, &c.	*Sumanus.*	This kingdome became one with a part of the kingdome of the *Herules*, 475. during their short reign in *Italy.*
9 *Ostrogothes.*	In *Pannonia*, where they subdued the *Huns*, and not long after propagated their kingdome into *Italy.*	*Theodemir.*	The *Longobards* succeeded the *Ostrogoths* first in *Pannonia*, upon the death of *Theodorick* of *Verona An.* 526. Then in *Italy*, called in by *Narses* discontented, soon after he had destroyed the kingdome of the *Goths.*
10 *Greeks.*	In the residue of the Empire.	*Marcianus.*	Ancient *Romes* Empire finished, that of the *Greeks* is but one of the kingdomes wherein it was divided.

Thus was the Empire divided and ſhared *An.* 456. the yeere after *Rome* was ſacked by *Genſericus*, and the off-ſpring of theſe Nations through many alterations (partly by the inconſtancie of humane things, unions and diſ-unions, partly by the further enlargement of the Chriſtian faith) are the body of the moſt of the Kingdomes and States of Chriſtendome at this day. Three of theſe Kings, ſaith *Daniel*, ſhould the Antichriſtian horne depreſſe and diſplant, to advance himſelfe, which three are thoſe whoſe dominions extended into *Italy*, and ſo ſtood in his light.

1 That of the Greekes, whoſe Emperour, *Leo Iſaurus*, for the quarrell of Images, he excommunicated, and revolted his ſubjects of *Italy* from their allegiance,

2 That of the *Longobards*, ſucceſſours of the *Oſtrogoths*, whoſe kingdome he cauſed, by the aid of the *Franks*, to be wholly ruinated, thereby to get the Exarchate of *Ravenna* (which ſince their revolt from the *Greekes* they were ſeized on) for a Patrimony to Saint *Peter*.

3 The laſt was the kingdome of the *Franks* it ſelfe, continned in the Empire of *Germany*, whoſe Emperours from the day of *Henry* the fourth he excommunicated, depoſed and trampled under his feet, and never ſuffered them to live in reſt, till he made them not onely quit their intereſt in election of Popes, and inveſtiture of Biſhops, but that remainder of juriſdiction in *Italy*, wherewith, together with the dignity of the Roman name, he had once infeoffed their Predeceſſors,

Theſe are the Kings, by diſplanting, or, as the Vulgar hath it, by humbling of whom the Pope by degrees got elbow-roome, and advanced himſelfe to the heigth of temporall Majeſty, and abſolute greatneſſe, which made him ſo terrible in the world.

This third blow therefore I ſuppoſe is to be counted the laſt of the ruine of the Roman Empire, the Imperiall

power of ancient *Rome* (untill the Pope some 345 yeeres after revived the name) henceforth ceasing; for as for those who yet for some twenty yeeres after our date scuffled for that name, one of them deposing another, they were indeed but shadowes of *Cæsars*, and as it were struglings with the pangs of death, untill with *Augustulus* it gave up the ghost: yea it is to be observed, that two of them, *Avitus* (the very next) and *Glycerius*, being deposed from the Empire, were made Bishops, the one of *Placentia* or *Piacenza*, the other of * *Portus*, as a signe perhaps that the Emperour of *Rome* henceforth should be a Bishop, and a Bishop the Emperour.

* *Salona Fornandes, quem vide cum* Paulo Diacono.

To conclude therefore with the application of our Apostles prediction, whether the Christian Apostasie in worshipping new Dæmon-gods began not with the first of these degrees, notably increased with the second, and was established by the last, I leave you to judge, when you shall have surveyed the monuments and records of those times.

It is commonly and truly affirmed by our Ecclesiasticall * Antiquaries, that before the yeere 360, there is no word to be found of the invocation of Saints glorified, or worshipping their Reliques, to which I add, no not of any miracles done by them; but presently after that yeere, when our first date of the Empires ruine began, search and you shall finde: I spare to name the Authors, not willing to discover the nakednesse of the Fathers; but whoso reads them, will admire to see so truly verified what the Spirit foretold should be ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς, in the latter times And to make an end, if any shall think this speculation of times to be a needlesse curiositie, I desire him to remember how our Saviour reproved the Jewes for neglect hereof, *Mat.* 16.3. *O ye Hypocrites, ye can discerne the face of the skies, but can ye not discerne the signes of the times?* or as Saint *Luke* 12.56. *How is it that yee doe not discerne this time?* they through neglecting the signes

* *Vide Can. 4. Concil Laodicen. 3 an. 364.* θεραπείας ἕνεκα.

ſignes of the times, when Chriſt came, received him not: how many through ignorance of theſe ὑστέρους καιρούς, when the Apoſtaſie hath appeared, eſchewed it not?

From which of theſe three beginnings of the Apoſtaticall times, or whether from ſome other moment within or betweene them the Almighty will reckon that his computation of theſe ὑστέρους καιρούς, which ended, will finiſh the dayes of the man of ſinne, I curiouſly enquire not, but leave unto him who is Lord of times and ſeaſons: nor doe I think that the Jewes themſelves could certainly tell from which of their three captivities to begin that reckoning of 70 yeeres, whoſe end ſhould bring their returne from *Babylon*, untill the event aſſured them thereof.

AN APPENDIX.

I Should now preſently come to ſpeak of the fourth particular which I obſerved in the verſe, but becauſe in this diſcourſe of times, beſides the great Calendar of times which I ſo much ſpake of, there was ſome mention of a *leſſer Calendar*, *viz.* of *Daniels* 70 weekes, give me leave to note ſome places of Scripture which I ſuppoſe to have reſe ence thereto, for the better clearing not onely of our former diſcourſe, but of ſome ſcruples that might trouble our minds, when mention is made of an end then ſuppoſed neere, though the world hath laſted ſo many hundred yeeres, and no end thereof is yet come.

Know therefore, that theſe 70 weeks are a *little provinciall Calendar*, containi g the time that the legall worſhip and Jewiſh ſtate was to continue from the re-building of the Sanctuary under *Darius Nothus*, untill the finall deſtruction thereof, when the Calendar ſhall expire, within the ſpace whereof their Commonwealth and City ſhould be reſtored, and 62 weeks after that, the Meſſias

Messias be slaine for sin, and at the end of the whole 70 their City and Temple againe destroyed, and their Commonwealth utterly dissolved. To these weeks therefore, whose computation so especially concernes the Jewes, is reference made in those Epistles which are written to the Christian Churches of that Nation, whether being in *Iewry*, or abroad dispersed, in *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, *Bythinia*. Such is S. *Pauls* Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, both Saint *Peters* to the Dispersion, the Epistle of Saint *Iames* to the twelve Tribes, and likewise the first Epistle of Saint *Iohn*, which though the salutation expresseth not as in the former, yet may appeare both because *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*, were all three Apostles of the circumcision, and from that passage *cap.* 2. 2. *Christ Iesus is the propitiation for our sinnes, and not for ours onely, but for the sinnes of the whole world*; that is, not for the sins of us onely who are Jewes, but for the sinnes of the Gentiles also. And doth not the name of generall or catholicall Epistle given unto this, as well as those of Saint *Iames* and *Peter*, imply thus much? for it cannot be thus called, as written to all Christians indefinitely, and generally, since the contrary plainly appeares in the former; but because this as well as the rest was written to those of the circumcision, who were not a people confined to any one City or Region, but dispersed through every Nation, as we reade in the *Acts*, *cap.* 2. 5. &c. that at the Feast of Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost came downe upon the Apostles, *there were sojourning at Ierusalem Iewes, devout men, out of every nation under heaven*; *Parthians*, *Medes*, *Elamites*, *and the dwellers of Mesopotamia*, *Iudaa*, *and Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *and Asia*, *and strangers of Rome*, *Jewes and Proselites* (Jewes by race, and Jewes by religion) &c. for we must not mistake those there numbred to be Gentiles, but Israelites; both of the ten Tribes captivated by *Shalmaneser*, and the other two; some of whom never returned from *Babylon*, but lived still in *Mesopotamia*:

mia: but of theſe who returned, great multitudes were diſperſed afterwards in *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and many other Provinces before the time of our Saviours appearing in the fleſh. So that the Apoſtles of the Circumciſion had their Province for largeneſſe not much inferiour to that of the Gentiles.

But I come to note the places I ſpake of: and firſt out of the fore-named Epiſtle of Saint *John*, where from that prediction of our Saviour in the Goſpel, that the ariſing of the falſe Prophets ſhould be one of the neare ſignes of the nigh approaching end of the Jewiſh ſtate: the Apoſtle thus referres to it *cap.2.ver.*18. *Little children this is the* ἐσχάτη ὥρα, *the laſt houre: and as you have heard that Antichriſt ſhall come, even now there are many Antichriſts, whereby we know that it is the laſt time:* here by the laſt time I ſuppoſe no other thing to be meant but the neare expiring of *Daniels* 70 weeks, and with it the approaching end of the Jewiſh Commonwealth: and why might not this Epiſtle be written in the laſt weeke, at the beginning whereof *Ieſus Ananiæ* began that wofull crie, Woe unto Jeruſalem, and the Temple, *Ioſeph. l.7.belli Iudaici.* By πολλοὶ ἀντίχριστοι, many Antichriſts, are meant no other but falſe Prophets, Counter-prophets to the great Prophet, pretending an unction and commiſſion from heaven (as he had) to teach the world ſome new revelation and doctrine: for the name Chriſt implies the unction of prophecies, as well as the unction of a kingdome, and accordingly the name Antichriſt: and therefore the Syriack here turnes it, falſe Chriſts, that is, ſuch as ſhould falſely pretend ſome extraordinary unction of prophecie like unto him. And the comming of ſuch as theſe, our Saviour in Saint *Matthews* Goſpel, a Goſpel for the Hebrewes, makes one of the laſt ſignes uſhering the deſtruction of Jeruſalem; and if the harmony of this prophecy in the three Evangeliſts be well conſidered, there was no more to come but the compaſſing of Jeruſalem with armies.

Cyril. Hieroſ. Catech.6. expounds his of *Iohn* to meane *Simon Magus.*

armies. Well therefore might Saint *Iohn*, when he saw so many Antiprophets spring up, say, *Hereby we know that it is the last time.*

Againe, because the desolation of the Jewish state and Temple would be a great confirmation to Christian faith, therefore the beleeving Jewes, whom nothing could so much stagger as the standing glory of that Temple and Religion, are encouraged by the neereneſſe of that time of expectation, when so great a confirmation of their faith of their Mesias already come should appeare. *Heb.*10.23.25. *Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering, and so much the more as you see the day approaching*; namely, that day when you shall be sufficiently confirmed: so I take the 35. and 37. verses of the same Chapter, *Cast not away your confidence which hath great recompence of reward, for ye have need of patience. For yet a little while, he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry.* What (he) is this, but even he of whom *Daniel* sayes, *The people of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary*, *Dan.*9.26. For even as the destruction of Papall *Rome* would be a great confirmation of the reformed Christian, who hath forsaken the Communion of that Religion, the continuance and supposed stability of the glory thereof being that wherewith their Proctors endeavour most to shake and stager us: so was the destruction of the Jewish state and Temple to be unto those Jewes, who had withdrawne themselves from that body and Religion whereof they had once beene, to embrace the new faith of the Mesiah, preached by the Apostles. For if at the end of the 70 weeks approaching, the legall Sanctuary were rased, and the Jewish state dissolved, then would it be apparent indeed, that the Mesiah was already come and slaine for sin; because this was infallibly to come to passe within the compasse, and before the expiration of those 70 weeks, or 490 yeeres allotted for the last continuance of that City and Sanctuarie,

arie, when it ſhould be reſtored after the captivity of *Babylon*.

Not without cauſe therefore doth Saint *Peter* in his ſecond Epiſtle ſay to the Chriſtian Jewes, *We have a more ſure word of prophecie, whereunto you doe well that you give heed as unto a light ſhining in a dark place, untill the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts:* yea and beſides, becauſe *Jeſus* alſo as well as *Daniel* had propheſied of the approaching deſolation of that City and Temple, mentioning all the ſignes that were to uſher it; if the event when time come ſhould fall out accordingly, then muſt *Jeſus* of Nazareth, who foretold the foregoing ſignes thereof, be approved as a true Prophet, by whom of a truth the Lord had ſpoken. Now for the laſt place I mean to alledge: thus muſt the laſt of Saint *James* alſo be expounded, becauſe the fall and ſhock of that ſtate might ſhake the whole nation whereſoever diſperſed, unleſſe God had ſpared the Chriſtians, and made them alone happy in that wofull day, or rather becauſe Chriſt had foretold that one of the next fore-runners thereof ſhould be a generall perſecution of Chriſtians, as it happened under *Nero*. Therefore the remembrance of the end of theſe 70 weekes ſo neere the expiring, was a good caution to all the Chriſtian Jewes to watch and pray: to this ſence therefore I take that of *Peter*, 1 *Pet.* 4. 7. πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικε, *the end of all things is at hand, be yee ſober therefore, and watch unto prayer*; that is, the end of all your Commonwealth, legall worſhip, Temple, and ſervice, is now within a few yeeres: be ye therefore ſober, and watch unto prayer, that ye may be more happy in the day of vengeance and wrath upon our Nation. Neither need we wonder that this deſolation ſhould be called the *end*, for our Saviour himſelfe taught them ſo to ſpeak in his prophecie concerning it, as may appeare if we conſider that Antitheſis in Saint *Luke*, *cap.* 21. 9. *Yee ſhall heare of warres, and commotions, but the end is not by*

*and by. Ver.*20. *But when yee ſhall ſee Ieruſalem encompaſſed with armies, then know that the* deſolation *thereof is nigh.*

And thus much I thought to add to my former diſcourſe of latter times, leſt through ignorance thereof we might incline to that little better than blaſphemous conceit which * *Baronius* by name, and ſome other of *Romes* followers have taken up; *viz.* that the Apoſtles in ſuch like paſſages as we have noted, were miſtaken as beleeving that the end of the world ſhould have been in their owne time; God of purpoſe ſo ordering it, to cauſe in them a greater meaſure of zeale, and contempt of worldly things; an opinion I thinke not well beſeeming a Chriſtian.

* *An.*57.§.189. *Ann.*72.§.26. *Ann* 82.§.3.

1 For, firſt, whatſoever we imagine, the Apoſtles might here conceive in their private opinions as men; yet we muſt know that the Holy Ghoſt, by whoſe inſtinct they wrote the Scriptures, is the Spirit of truth, and therefore what is there affirmed muſt be true, yea, though the Pen-man himſelfe underſtood it not.

2 Secondly, it was not poſſible the Apoſtles ſhould expect the end of the world to be in their owne time, when they knew ſo many things were to come to paſſe before it, as could not be fulfilled in a ſhort time: As firſt, the deſolation of Jeruſalem, and that not till the 70 weeks were expired. Secondly, then the Jewes to be carryed captives over all Nations, and Jeruſalem to be trodden downe of the Gentiles, untill the time of the Gentiles be fulfilled, *Luke* 21.24. Thirdly, that in the meane time the Roman Empire muſt be ruined, and that which hindered taken out of the way, 2 *Theſ.*2.7. Fourtly, that after that was done, the man of ſin ſhould be revealed, and domineere his time in the Temple and Church of God, *Ibid.* Fifthly, after all this, *viz.* when the fulneſſe of the Gentiles ſhould come in, that Iſrael ſhould be received againe to mercy, *Rom.*11.27. Sixthly, that Chriſt ſhould

Mat.24. Mar.13 Luke 21. Dan 9.24.

ſhould reigne in his Church on earth ſo long, till he had put downe all rule, all authority and power, and ſubjected all his enemies under his feet, before he ſhould ſubdue the laſt enemy, which is death, and ſurrender his kingdome into the hands of his Father, 1 *Cor.*15.24, 25, &c. *Heb.*2.8. Seventhly, that the time ſhould be ſo long, that in the laſt dayes ſhould come Scoffers, ſaying, *Where is the promiſe of his comming*, 2 *Pet.*3.4. How is it poſſible they ſhould imagine the day of Doome to be ſo neere, when all theſe things muſt firſt come to paſſe, and not one of them was yet fulfilled?

And how could the expectation of this day be made a ground of exhortation, and a motive to watchfulneſſe, and prayer, as though it could ſuddenly and unawares ſurprize them which had ſo many wonderfull alterations to foregoe it, and yet none of them come to paſſe. I have ſpoken hitherto of what was revealed to all the Apoſtles in generall; but if we take Saint *John* apart from the reſt, and conſider what was afterward revealed to him in *Patmos*, we ſhall finde in his Apocalypticall viſion, beſides other times more obſcurely intimated, an expreſſe prophecy of no leſſe than a thouſand yeers, which whatever it meane, cannot be a ſmall time, and muſt be fulfilled in this world, and not in the world to come. Notwithſtanding all this, I make no queſtion but in the Apoſtles times many of the beleeving Gentiles, miſtaking the Apoſtles admonition to the Jewes of the end of their ſtate approaching, thought the end of the whole world and the day of the Lord had beene alſo neere, whom therefore *Paul* 2 *Theſ.*2. beſeeches to be better informed, becauſe that day ſhould not come untill the Apoſtaſie came firſt, and that man of ſin were revealed.

ῥητῶς λόγοις, *Expreſly*, or, *in expreſſe words.*

NOw I come to the fourth part of this prophecy, the warrant or prooſe thereof. The Spirit hath foretold it ῥητῶς, or *in expreſſe words*, in ſome place or other of divine Writ. The Spirit told *Peter Acts* 10.19. *Behold three men ſeeke thee.* The Spirit ſaid, *Separate* Barnabas *and* Saul, *Acts* 13.2. The Spirit forbade Saint *Paul* to *preach in Aſia.* The Spirit ſaid that the Jewes ſhould *binde Saint* Paul *at Jeruſalem*, *Acts* 21.11. But in all theſe the Spirit ſpake not ῥητῶς: for theſe things were no where written, and therefore what it ſpake, it ſpake ἀῤῥήτως, onely by ſecret Inſtinct or Inſpiration: but that which the Spirit ſpeakes in the written Word, that it ſpeaketh ῥητῶς, *verbatim*, expreſly. If therefore concerning this Apoſtaſie of Chriſtian beleevers, to be in theſe latter times, the Scripture ſpeaketh ῥητῶς, then is it to be found ſomewhere in the Old Teſtament: for there alone the Spirit could be ſaid to ſpeake ῥητῶς, or *verbatim*, in the Apoſtles time. Having therefore ſo good a hint given us, let us ſee if we can finde where the Spirit ſpeaketh of this matter ſo expreſly.

There are three maine things in this our Apoſtles prediction, whereof I finde the Spirit to have ſpoken ῥητῶς, or, *in expreſſe words*, and that in the prophecy of *Daniel.* 1 Of theſe laſt or latter times. 2 Of the new worſhip of Dæmons in them. 3 Of a Prohibition of marriage to accompany them. As for the firſt of theſe, the ὑστέρων καιρῶν, *Daniel*, as you heard before, expreſly names them, καιρὸς, καιροὶ, καὶ ἥμισυ καιροῦ, *a time, times, and halfe a time*; being thoſe *laſt times* of this *laſt kingdome*, wherein the Horniſh Tyrant ſhould make warre with the Saints, and prevaile againſt them. For the ſecond, a worſhip of new Dæmons or Demi-gods with the profeſsion of the name of Chriſt: you will perhaps think it ſtrange if I ſhould

ſhew

ſhew it πρῶτος: but if I doe, it was the Appendix of hindering or debarring marriage, mentioned in the next verſe, which as a thread led me the way to the end of the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, where I found it, and in a place too very ſuſpicious, being taken I think by almoſt all the Ancients for a prophecy of Antichriſt; yea and ſo expounded by the greateſt part of our own, though with much variety of reading and application. But heare the words themſelves in the 36, 37, 38, 39 verſes of the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, tranſlated as I think πρῶτος, *verbatim*, without any wreſting or ſtraining the Hebrew text: they are a deſcription of the *laſt* or *Roman Kingdome*, with the ſeverall ſtates thereof; conquering nations, perſecuting Chriſtians, falſe worſhipping Chriſt.

The words are theſe, *Daniel cap.* 11. 36, 37, 38, 39. *verſes.*

36 Then a King ſhall doe according to his will, & ſhall exalt and magnifie himſelfe above every god, yea againſt the God of gods ſhall hee ſpeak marvellous things, and ſhall proſper untill the indignation be accompliſhed: for the determined time ſhall be fulfilled.

37 Then he ſhall not regard the gods of his Anceſtors, nor ſhall he regard the deſire of women, no nor any god: but he ſhall magnifie himſelfe above all.

36 *Tunc faciet pro libitu ſuo Rex, & extollet ac magnificabit ſeipſum ſupra omnem deum, etiam contra Deum deorum loquetur ſtupenda, proficitq; donec conſummata fuerit indignatio: nam ſtatutum perficietur.*

37 *Tunc ad Deos majorum ſuorum non attendet, nec ad deſiderium mulierum, nec ad ullum numen attendet: ſed ſupra omne ſe magnificabit.*

ועשה כרצנו
המלך ויתרומם
ויתגדל על-כל-
אל ועל אל
אלים ידבר
נפלאות ויצליח
עד כלה זעם
כי נחרצה
נעשתה׃

ועל אלהי אבותיו
לא יבין ועל
חמדת נשים ועל
כל-אלוה לא
יבין כי על כל
יתגדל׃

ולאלה מעזים על
כנו יכבד ולאלה
אשר לא ידעהו
אבותיו יכבד
בזהב ובכסף
ובאבן יקרה
ובחמדות׃

38 For to [or together with] God, in his ſeat, hee ſhall honour Mahuzzims: yea together with that God whom his Anceſtours knew not, ſhall he honour them with gold, and with ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and with pleaſant things.

38 *Nam ad* [*vel juxta*] *Deum, Mahuzzimos, in ſede ejus honorabit: ſcilicet ad Deum quem non agnoverunt majores ejus, honorabit eos auro, & argento, & lapidibus pretioſis, & rebus deſideratiſſimis.*

ועשה למבצרי
מעזים עם
אלוה נכר אשר
הכיר ירבה כבוד
והמשילם ברבים
וארמה יחלק
במחיר׃

39 And hee ſhall make the holds of the Mahuzzims withall (or joyntly) to the forreigne god: whom acknowledging, hee ſhall increaſe with honour, and ſhall cauſe them to rule over many, and ſhall diſtribute the earth for a reward.

39 *Et faciet munimenta Mauzzimorum unà deo peregrino (ſeu exotico): quem agnoſcendo, multiplicabit honores, & dominari faciet eos in multos, terramque partietur in mercedem.*

1 Now for the underſtanding of this Prophecy, wee muſt take notice that the Prophet *Daniel* at the beginning of theſe verſes, leaves off the Greek kingdome with *Antiochus*, of whom he was ſpeaking before, and falls about the Romane: the reaſon being, becauſe after *Antiochus*, in whoſe time *Macedonia* (whence that kingdome ſprung, with all the reſt of *Greece*) came under the Romane obedience; the third kingdome comes no more into reckoning, *Daniel* himſelfe calling the time of *Antiochus* reigne, the *latter end* of the *Greek* kingdome, *cap.*8.23. and as I take it, he intimates the ſame in this chapter in the verſes immediately fore-going: theſe we have now to deale withall: from thence forward therefore the Romane ſucceeds in the account of the Great Calendar of time.

2 Under

2 Under the name *King* we muſt underſtand the whole Roman State under what kind of government ſoever: for the Hebrewes uſe King for kingdome, and kingdome for any Government, State or Policy in the world: for the Divell in the Goſpel is ſaid to have ſhewn Chriſt all the kingdomes of the world, Monarchies, Ariſtocracies, Democracies, or what other kind ſoever.

3 Where it is ſaid, this King ſhall *exalt himſelfe above every God*, nothing is thereby meant, but the generality, and the greatneſſe of his conqueſts and prevailings: and the reaſon of that phraſe or manner of ſpeech ſhould ſeem to be, becauſe in the time of Paganiſme every Citie and Country was ſuppoſed to have their proper and peculiar gods, which were deemed as their guardians and protectors: whence in the Scripture, according to the language of that time, we may obſerve a threefold uſe of ſpeech. Firſt, The Nations themſelves are expreſſed and implyed under the names of their gods: The Iſraelites were called *the people of Jehovah*, ſo are the Moabites *the people of Chemoſh*, *Numb.*21.29. The Lord threatned, *Deut.*4.28.& 28.64. *Jer.*16.13. to *ſcatter Iſrael among the nations, from one end of the earth even to another, and that there they ſhould ſerve other gods day and night; gods the work of mens hands, wood and ſtone, which neither they nor their fathers had knowne:* that is, they ſhould ſerve them, not Religiouſly but Politically, inſomuch as they were to become ſlaves and vaſſals to * Idolatrous nations; even ſuch Idolaters as neither they nor their fathers had ever heard of. For as for a religious ſervice of Idols, the Jewes were never ſo free as in the captivity, as we ſee by experience at this day: but with the ſervice of bondage they may be ſaid Politically to have beene the vaſſals of Idols, as being in bondage to the ſervants of other gods. As a Chriſtian taken by the Turks may in the like ſenſe be ſaid to come in bondage, and be a ſlave to *Mahomet*: for a ſlave to the ſervants is in a ſenſe ſervant to their maſters. Let it alſo

* So *Targum, Onkelos* and *Jonathan* both render it expreſly *Deut.*28.36.64. alſo 6.4.28. neſſon *Targum Jonathan, Ier.*16.13. 1 *Sam.*26.19. that is in all the places forecited.

also be considered whether that of *David*, 1 *Sam.*26.19. be not to be expounded according to this notion, *They have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, saying, goe serve other gods*; that is, banished me into a nation of another Religion. Secondly, The exploits of the nation are said to be done by their gods, even as we by like priviledge of speech ascribe unto our Kings what is done by the people under them: thus 2 *Chron* 28.23. the gods of *Damascus* are said to have smote *Ahaz*; *he sacrificed to the gods of* Damascus *that smote him*: *and he said*, *Because the gods of* Syria *help them, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help me.* *Jer.*51.44. it is said of the dominion of *Babylon*, that the nations flowed together unto *Bel*, and that he had swallowed up their wealth, which the Lord threatned there to bring forth again out of his mouth. Thirdly, and that most frequently of all others, What is attempted against the nation, is said to be attempted against their gods: Even as Generals beare the name not onely of the exploits, but also of the disadvantages of the armies led by them: so here the gods are said to receive the affronts, defeatures, and discomfitures given to the people under their patronage. * *Rabshakeh* vaunts in his masters name, 2 *Kings* 28.33. *Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the King of* Assyria? *where are the gods of* Hamath, *and of* Arphad? *where are the gods of* Sepharvaim? *Esay* 46.2. prophecieth thus of the taking of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*; Bel *boweth downe*, Nebo *stoopeth, they could not deliver the burden, but they themselves are gone into captivity.* In the like straine propheci-eth *Jeremy*, *cap.*50.2. Babylon *is taken*, Bel *is confounded*, Merodach *is broken in pieces, her Idols are confounded.* And again, *Jer.*51.44. *I will punish* Bel *in* Babylon, *and I will bring out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed up, and the nations shall not flow together any more unto him: yea the wall of* Babylon *shall fall.* The same Prophet saith

* 2 *Sam.*7.23. God is said to have redeemed Israel from Egypt, from the nations & their gods. See *Tremel.* who turnes it more to our purpose

saith of *Moabs* captivity, *cap.*48.7. *Thou shalt be taken, and* Chemosh *shall go into captivity with his Priests and his Princes together.* *Moab* likewise in his affronts and derision of Israel is said to have magnified himselfe against the Lord: according to which manner of speech the successe and prevailing of the Roman in the advancing his dominion, and subduing every nation under him, is here expressed by his exalting and magnifying himselfe above every God. This I suppose to be the ground of that manner of speech; though if any had rather, as others doe, take gods here for Kings and Potentates of the earth, it will I confesse come all to one purpose.

4 By the gods of their Ancestours, whom the Roman State should at length cashiere and cast off, are meant all the Pagan *Deities*, and heathen Gods, which were worshipped in that Empire.

5 By *desire of women*, which the Roman of that time should not regard, as he was wont, is meant the *desire of wiving*, or desire of having women for the society of life; conjugall affection which is expressed *Gen.*2.24. to be such a desire for which a man should leave father and mother and cleave to his wife, and they shall be both one flesh: and it might have beene in this place, *desire of wives*, as well as *desire of women*; for there is no other word used in the Originall for wives above once or twice in the whole Scripture, but this נָשִׁים which is here turned *women*. With the like use of the word *desire*, the Spouse in the *Canticles*, *cap.*7.10. expresseth her welbeloved to be her husband: *I am my wel-beloveds* (saith she) *and his desire is toward me*; that is, he is my husband: for so twice before she expressed her selfe, *cap.*2.16. *My beloved is mine; and I am his.* Cap.6.3. *I am my beloveds, and my beloved is mine.* So *Ezek.*24.16. the Lord threatning to take away *Ezekiels* wife, saith, *Behold, I take away from thee the desire of thine eyes*; and afterward *ver.*18. it followeth, *and at even my wife died.* Yea, the

מחמד עיניך

Roman language it ſelfe is not unacquainted with this ſpeech: *Cicero ad uxorem, En mea lux, meum deſiderium.* This deſire of women and married life, the Roman ſhould diſcountenance, when he ſhook off the gods of his Anceſtors.

6 By the *ſtrange and forraine God* whom the Roman ſhould at length acknowledge, is meant [a] Chriſt; for though to the Jew every ſtrange and forreign god were a falſe god, yet to the Gentiles, who worſhipped none but Idols, the forreigne god was the True: therefore the Philoſophers at *Athens*, when Saint *Paul* preached Chriſt unto them, ſaid, He preacheth [b] ξένων δαιμων, *a forreigne god.* The want of which conſideration hath much obſcured this Prophecy, this *forreigne god* being ſtill ſuppoſed to be a *falſe god*; when to thoſe who worſhipped all kinds of falſe gods, as the [c] Roman did, a *forreigne god*, whom their fathers knew not, muſt needs be the *True.*

7 Where it is ſaid, *With this forreign god he ſhall honour Mahuzzims:* theſe *Mahuzzim*, or *Mauzzims*, are theſe Daimons we ſeek for, whom the Roman ſhould worſhip with Chriſt, whom he ſhould embrace: For *Mahuzzims* are *Protectores dii*, ſuch as Saints and Angels are ſuppoſed to be, as I ſhall ſhew by and by; where though I ſhall be new for the particular, yet for the generall I ſhall agree well enough with the Fathers, who conſtantly thought that under this *Mahuzzim* was ſome Idol meant which Antichriſt ſhould worſhip, and many of our times have taken it for the *Maſſe.*

But I muſt firſt ſay ſomething of the tranſlation of this verſe, and then will come to the ſignification of this word *Mahuzzims.*

For the firſt, whereas the prepoſition ל in ולאלה is uſually neglected, and the words ולאלה מעזים, *God* and *Mahuzzim* conſtrued together as one thing, *viz. God Mahuzzim*, or, as ſome, the *God of forces*; I expreſſe the

a See the oration of *Licinius* to his Souldiers, *Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. 2. c. 5.*

b Syr. אלהא נוכריא The Altar he there ſpeakes of in his defence was inſcribed Θεῷ Ἀγνώστῳ ξένῳ, which God (ſaith he) I preach unto you.

c Romanum penè omnibus dominaretur gentibus, omnium gentium ſerviebat erroribus, & magnam ſibi videbatur aſſumpſiſſe Religionem, quia nullam reſpuebat falſitatem, *Leo magn. in Ser. 1. in nat. Apo. Pet. & Paul* Hic confutandi Dæmonum cultus, hic omnium ſacrificiorum impietas deſtruenda, ubi diligentiſsimâ ſuperſtitione habeatur collectũ quicquid uſquam fuerat variis erroribus inſtructũ. *Id. ib.*

the Preposition Lamed, and construe *God* and *Mahuzzim* apart, as here, *viz. to*, or, *together with God he shall honour Mahuzzims*, &c. *Ad, vel juxta Deum, Mahuzzimos honorabit.* For the preposition ל is made of אֵל and signifies the same with it, *viz.* addition of, or joyning of things, *ad, juxta, apud, pro* ב *in, pro* עִם *pro* עַל *contra, super, to, together*, and *besides with*, as [d] *Lev.* 18.18. *Thou shalt not take a wife to her sister,* אֶל-אֲחֹתָהּ, that is, *together with her sister.* By this meanes the controversie betweene *Junius* and *Graserus* is taken away: for *Junius*, as should seeme, seeing no reason why the Preposition ל should be neglected, and that by so doing the Verb יִכְבַּד was made irregularly and against use to governe a Dative case, he expresses the Preposition by *Quod ad*, or *Quod attinet ad*, (*id est*) *as concerning*. But the words *God* and *Mahuzzim* he separateth not, but turneth them as in *statu constructo, viz.* the *god of might and of forces*; understanding thereby the true and Almighty God himselfe. Against which *Graserus* excepts, first, that to render the Preposition ל, *ad, as concerning*, savours of a Latinisme rather than of an Hebraisme. Secondly, that he doth as good as strike out the distinctive accent Athnach (^) which is a Colon; in as much as he makes the sentence being a full member to be imperfect and defective, and yet would seeme to stand in awe of that smaller distinction *Zakeph-katon* (:) over the word *Mahuzzim*, which yet stands there, as [e] elsewere it doth, but for a *nota benè*. Thirdly, that to expound *god Mahuzzim* to be the true God, against the consent not onely of the Jewes who ever take it for some Idol or other, but of the ancient Christian writers who understand by it some Idol of Antichrist, yea some, the Divell himselfe, and many of our owne who take it for the Idol of the Masse, and some otherwise, yet for some Idol-deity. To expound this of the true and mighty God without example in Scripture *Graserus* thinkes not tolerable; wherefore

d See this use of ל *Ezra* 1.5. *Vulg. & Angl.* with *Lev.* 16.21. *Vulg. & LXX. Num.* 9.15. *LXX. Ibid. cap.* 33.2. *LXX. cap.* 32.33 *LXX. Vulg. cum. Angl.*

e *viz.* ver. 42 of this cha. over מְצֻרוֹת and ver. 3. of the next chapter over מָעֻזִּים where it is imposible it should distinguish, and so elsewhere.

wherefore himſelfe had rather yeeld the conſtruction of the verb יכבד to be irregular: *Junius* himſelfe having admitted it in the next member of the verſe, and to ſuppoſe it to be a myſticall Soleciſme, the Spirit intending by the Anomaly or incongruity of the Syntax to ſignifie an Anomaly or incongruity of Religion: but their inconveniences on both ſides, as farre as I can ſee, are wholly accorded by that tranſlation we have given. Whereof let the Reader judge.

I come now to unfold the ſignification of the word *Mahuzzim*; a word which moſt tranſlations retain, the Septuagint calling it Μαοζιμ; Saint *Jerome* and the Vulgar Latine, *Maozim*; the Geneva and others, *Mahuzzim*: this מעזים *Mahuzzim* I ſay is in the Plurall number, the ſingular מעז *Mahoz*, which in the abſtract ſignifies ſometimes ſtrength, ſometimes a Fortreſſe, or Bulwarke; of עזן *robuſtus fuit*: but the Hebrewes uſe Abſtracts for Concretes: examples are many in the Old Teſtament, as *juſtitia pro juſtis*; captivity for captives, &c. In the New Teſtament, Principalities, Powers, and Dominions, for Princes, Potentates, and Dominators; ſo *Mahoz*, ſtrength, or a Fortreſſe, for him that ſtrengthens or fortifies, that is a Protector, Defender, Guardian, and Helper. Wherefore the Septuagint five times in the Pſalmes render the word מעז *Mahoz*, Καταφυγὴ, and the Vulgar Latine as often *Protector*: the places are theſe, *Pſal.* 27. 1. *The Lord is* מעז חיי *the protector of my life, of whom ſhould I be affraid? Pſal.* 28. 8. *The Lord is their ſtrength, and he is* מעזי ישעות *Mahoz Jeſhuoth, the Mahoz of ſalvation of his annointed*: * where the Septuagint, Καταφυγὴ τῶν σωτηριῶν, and the Vulgar, *Protector ſalvationum*. *Pſal.* 31. 1. *Bow downe thine eare to me, deliver me ſpeedily, be thou unto me* לצור מעז *for a Rock Mahoz*: Septuagint, εἰς Θεὸν Καταφυγὴν; Vulg. *in Deum Protectorem*: againe verſe 5. *Pull me out of the net that they have laid privily for me.* מיאורה מעזי

* Some render it not *of*, but, *is his Annointed* or *Meſsiah*, that is, *Meſsiah is Mahoz Jeſhuoth.*

מעוי *Thou art my Protector*; Septuagint, ὑπερασπιστης μου; the Vulgar, *Protector*. *Pſal.*37.39. *The ſalvation of the righteous is from the Lord, he is* מעוזם *Mahuzzam, their Mahoz in the time of trouble*: where the Septuagint and the Vulgar render as before ὑπερασπιστης and *Protector*. How think you now, are not Saints and Angels worſhipped as *Mahuzzims*? True Chriſtians have with *David*, in the Pſalme before quoted, one *Mahoz*, *Jehovah Mahoz*, that is, *Chriſt*; but Apoſtate Chriſtians have their many *Mahuzzims*. Oh, would they worſhipped only משוע ישועתי *Mahoz of ſalvations*, as you heard *David* even now call him, *Pſal.*28. You may if you pleaſe compare with theſe places of the Pſalmes that in the firſt verſe of this eleventh of *Daniel*, where the Angel ſaid he ſtood in the firſt yeere of *Darius* the *Mede* to confirme and be a *Mahoz* to him, ולמעוז לו which we tranſlate, to *ſtrengthen him*; by which we may ſee how fitly this name may be applied to *Angels* and ſo to *Saints*, ſuppoſed in helping, protecting, aſſiſting, to be like them. Thus you ſee the concrete ſence of *Mahoz* for Helper, Protector, and Defender, is not new. But what if we take the word paſſively, force and ſtrength, for forts and ſtrong ones; will not then the valiant Martyrs and Champions of the faith well bear the name of *Mahuzzims*? and theſe are they whom at the firſt Chriſtians worſhipped onely in this ſort, as an honour peculiarly due unto their ſufferings. Moreover, that you may not think this word and the notion thereof unproper to be given unto a Deity, obſerve that the true God is called a *Rock* צור ſeven times *Deut.* 32. which the Vulgar turnes as often *Deus*; yea in the ſame place *falſe gods* are termed alſo צורים *Rockes*, *ver.* 31. *Their Rock*, i.e. *the Gentiles Rock is not as our Rock, even our enemies themſelves being Judges*: and *ver.* 37. *Where are their gods* (that is, *Baalim*) *their Rock in whom they truſted? which did eat the fat of their ſacrifices*, &c. The like you ſhall finde in *Hannahs* ſong,

and other places of Scripture. See now the parity: The True God, or Christ himself is often by *David* cald *Mahoz*, why may not then False gods, or Plurality of Christs be called *Mahuzzim*? Rocke and Fortresse are not words of so great difference.

Thus having cleared the chiefest difficulties in the Text, and made the way smooth, let us read over the words again, and apply the interpretation unto them.

DAN. 11.

See the notice hereof at that time taken by the Iewes 1 *Mac.* 8 *à principio adver.* 13. *inclusivè.*

Verse 36. *Then a King shall doe according to his will, and shall exalt or magnifie himselfe above every god.*

36 That is, toward the end of the reigne of *Antiochus Epiphanes* the Roman shal prevail, and setup the Fourth Kingdome, making himself master of the kingdome of *Macedon*, and advancing himselfe from this time forward by continuall conquests, shall Lord it over every King and Nation.

Yea against the God of gods shall he speake marvellous things, and shall prosper, untill the indignation be accomplished; for the determined time shall bee fulfilled.

Yea Christ the God of gods, and King of the kings of the earth, who in those times should appear in the world, the Roman shall mock, blaspheme, and crucifie, and by most bloody edicts shall persecute and massacre his servants the Christians, and yet shall prosper in his Empire, untill these outragious times be ended, that is, untill the dayes of *Constantine*; for the time God hath appointed must be fulfilled.

Verse

Verſe 37. *Then he ſhall not regard the gods of his Anceſtors, nor ſhall he regard the deſire of women, no nor any God: but he ſhall magnifie himſelfe above all.*

37 When that appointed time for the date of his proſperitie comes to his period, and the time of his ruine and change of his dominion drawes neere, then this Roman ſtate ſhall caſhiere and forſake the Idols and Falſe gods, whom their Fathers worſhipped, and ſhall acknowledge Chriſt a God whom their fathers knew not: at that time the deſire of women and married life ſhall be diſcountenanced, and ſhall not be of that account and regard it had been; but contrary to the long continued cuſtome of the Romans, ſingle life ſhall be honoured and priviledged aboue it; yea and ſoone after the Romane ſhall beare himſelfe ſo, as if he regarded not any God; and with Antichriſtian pride ſhall magnifie himſelfe ouer all.

Verſe 38 *For to (or together with) God in his ſeat, he ſhal honour Mahuzzims: yea together with that God, whom his Anceſtours knew not, ſhall he honor them with gold, and with ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and with pleaſant things.*

38 That is, together with the Chriſtian God, who is a jealous God, and to be worſhipped alone, hee ſhall worſhip *Mahuzzims*, even in his ſeat and Temple; even with a forreine God, whom his Anceſtors acknowledged not, ſhall hee honour *Mahuzzims*; with gold and ſilver, and with precious ſtones, and with pleaſant things.

Verſe

Verse 39. And he shall make the holds of the Mahuzzims withall (or jointly) to the forreine god: whom acknowledging, hee shall increase with honour, and shall cause them to rule over many, and shall distribute the earth for a reward.

39 And though the Christian God, whom he shall professe to acknowledge and worship, can endure no compeers, yet shall he consecrate his Temples and Monasteries (Ecclesiasticall holds) jointly to the Christian God and to his *Mahuzzims*, *Deo & Sanctis*; yea he shall distribute the earth among *Mahuzzims*, so that beside severall patrimonies which in every Countrey he shall allot them, he shall share whole Kingdomes and Provinces among them. Saint *George* shall have *England*; Saint *Andrew* shall have *Scotland*; St. *Denis*, *France*; St. *James*, *Spaine*; S. *Mark*, *Venice*; &c. and beare rule as Presidents and Patrons of their severall Countries.

Thus we see how ἐμφατικῶς, how *expressly* the Spirit foretold the Roman Empire, having rejected the multitudes of gods and Dæmons worshipped by their Ancestours, and betaken themselves to that One and Onely True God which their Fathers knew not, should nevertheless depart from this their Faith, and revive againe their old Theology of Dæmons by a new Superinduction of *Mahuzzims*.

Now although this Prophesie thus applied, be so evident, that the onely pointing at the event were able almost to convince the Reader, yet that we may the more yet admire the truth of God in the contemplation of an event so suitable, I will add these following observations concerning it.

1 First, that agreeably with the date of the Holy Ghost

Ghost, the Roman Historians themselves have observed and marked out this time of their prevailing against *Macedonia* (which I said was accomplished toward the end of the reigne of *Antiochus Epiphanes*) for the beginning of the Dominion over the world. *Lucius Florus lib. 2 cap. 7. Cedente* Hannibale *præmium victoriæ Africa fuit. & secutus Africam terrarum orbis; post Carthaginem vinci neminem puduit; secutæ sunt statim Africam, Gentes; Macedonia, Græcia, Syria, cæteraque omnia quodam quasi æstu, & torrente fortunæ: sed primi omnium Macedones, affectator quondam imperii populus. In Velleius Paterculus lib. 1. cap. 6.* is an Annotation out of one *Æmilius Sura*, in these words. *Æmilius Sura de annis populi Romani. Assyrii, Principes omnium Gentium, rerum potiti sunt, deinde Medi, postea Persæ, deinde Macedones, exinde duobus regibus, Philippo & Antiocho, qui à Macedonibus oriundi erant, haud multò post Carthaginem subactam, devictis, summa Imperii ad Populum Romanum pervenit. Inter hoc tempus & initium* Nini *Regis Assyriorum, qui Princeps rerum potitus, intersunt anni mille nongenti quinque.* Here the time of the Romans prevailing against the Macedonian King is made the beginning of their Empire; even as *Daniel* also beginneth the Roman account from thence; but with this difference, that whereas *Æmilius Sura* seems to reckon from the beginning of these prevailings in the victories against *Philip*, *Daniel* counts from the victory against *Perseus* his son; when that conquest was now perfected, and *Macedonia* brought into a Province; which happened (as I have already said) the same yeere that *Antiochus Epiphanes* prophaned the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

2 That no Kingdome in the world that we know of, could more literally be said in their conquests to exalt and magnifie themselves above every God, than the Roman; in respect of a solemne custome they used in their wars, by a certain charm to call out the gods of any City

when they beſieged it. The form wherof *Macrob.* gives us, *l.* 3. *Saturn. c.* 8. as he found it in *Sammon. Serenus* his fifth book of hidden ſecrets, namely this.--If it be a god, if it be a goddeſſe that hath the City of *Carthage* in protection.-- *And thou eſpecially, whoſoever thou art, the Patron of this City and people, I pray and beſeech, and with your leave require you to abandon the people and City of Carthage, to forſake the places, Temples, Ceremonies, and Enclоſures of their City; to goe away from them, and to ſtrike feare, terrour, and aſtoniſhment into that people and City; and having left it, to come to Rome to me and mine; and that our Cities, Places, Temples, Ceremonies be more acceptable, and better liked of you; that you would take the charge of me, of the people of Rome, and of my ſouldiers, o as we may know and underſtand it: If you doe ſo, I vow to build you Temples, and to appoint ſolemne ſports for you.*

3 That *Conſtantine*, the firſt Emperour under whom that State forſook the gods of their forefathers, and became Chriſtian, together with this alteration, abrogated thoſe ancient Roman lawes, *Julia* and *Papia*, wherein the *deſire of women* and *married life* was ſo much priviledged and encouraged, and ſingle and unmarried life diſadvantaged. Heare it in the words of *Zozoman lib.* 1. *cap.* 9. *Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. There was* (ſaith he) *an ancient law among the Romans, forbidding thoſe who after five and twenty yeeres old were unmarried, to enjoy the like priviledges with married ones; and beſides many other things, that they ſhould have no benefits by Teſtaments and Legacies, unleſſe they were next of kindred, and thoſe who had no children to have halfe their goods confiſcated: therefore the Emperour ſeeing thoſe, who for Gods ſake were addicted to chaſtity and virginity, to be for this cauſe in the worſt condition, he accounted it a folly for men to goe about to increaſe their kind with ſuch carefulneſſe and diligence; when as Nature, according to divine moderation, continually receives as well*

diminution

diminution, as increaſe. Therefore he publiſhed a law to the people, that both thoſe who lived a ſingle life, and thoſe who had no children, ſhould enjoy the like priviledges with others: yea he enacted that thoſe who lived in chaſtity and virginity, ſhould be priviledged above them, enabling both ſexes, though under yeeres, to make Teſtaments, contrary to the accuſtomed policy of the Romans. This alteration of the Roman law by *Conſtantine*, *Euſebius* alſo witneſſeth *lib.4.cap.26.de vita Conſtantini:* and again, *cap.28.* where he ſaith, that above all he honoured moſt thoſe that had conſecrated their lives to divine Philoſophy; he meanes a monaſticall life; and therefore he almoſt adored the moſt holy company of perpetuall Virgins. That which the fathers had thus enacted, the ſonnes alſo ſeconded: and ſome of the following Emperours by new edicts, till there was no Relique left of thoſe ancient priviledges, wherewith married men had beene reſpected; which *Procopius* ſaith (how rightly I examine not) was the cauſe of the ruine of that Empire, which was ſo much enfeebled, and weakened through neglect of the procreation of children, that it was not able to match the numerous armies of barbarous nations. This was the firſt ſtep of diſ-regarding marriage, and the deſire of wiving; which was not an abſolute prohibition, but diſcouraging. But no ſooner had the Roman Biſhop, and his Clergy got the power into their hands, but it grew to an abſolute prohibition; not for Monkes onely, but for the whole Clergy: which was the higheſt diſ-reſpect that could be to that which God had made honourable among all men.

4 Laſtly, it is a thing not to be paſſed by without admiration, that the Fathers and others, at the beginning of Saint-worſhip, by I know not what fatall inſtinct, uſed to call *Saints* and their *Reliques*, *Towres*, *Walls*, *Bulwarks*, and *Fortreſſes*, that is, מעזים *Mahuzzim*, in the prime and native ſignification. *Baſil* in his Oration upon the

forty Martyrs, whoſe Reliques were diſperſed over all the Countries thereabouts, ſpeaks in this manner: *Theſe are thoſe who having taken poſſeſſion of our Countrey, as* certain conjoyned Towers, πύργοι πρὸς συνεχῆς, *ſecure it from the incurſions of Enimies.* The ſame *Baſil* concludes his Oration upon *Mamas* a Martyr in this manner; that *God who hath gathered us together in this place, and diſpoſeth of all that is to come, keepe us ſafe from hurt, and ſecure us from the ravening Wolfe, and preſerve ſtedfaſt this Church of Ceſarea, being* guarded with a mighty Tower of Martyrs, ἐρυμνὴν τοῖς μεγάλοις πύργοις τῶν μαρτύρων. *Chryſoſtome in Hom.* 32. upon the Epiſtle to the *Romanes*, ſpeaking of the Reliques of Saint *Peter* and *Paul*; *This corps* (ſaith he) meaning of Saint *Paul*, *fortifies this City of Rome more ſtrongly than any Towre, or ten thouſand rampires, as alſo doth the corps of* Peter, πάντων πύργων καὶ μυρίων ἄλλων ἀσφαλέστερον, &c. Are not theſe ſtrong *Mahuzzims?*

The like whereunto is that of *Venantius Fortunatus* a Chriſtian Poet, not above an age younger than *Chryſoſtome.*

A facie hoſtili duo propugnacula præſunt,
Quos fidei turres urbs caput orbis habet.

The Faith's two Towers in Lady *Rome* do lye,
Two Bulwarks ſtrong againſt the Einmy.

At the ſame thing aimes *Gregory lib.* 7. *Ep.* 33. *ad Ruſticanam Patriciam*, entreating her to come to *Rome*: *Si gladios Italiæ & bella formidetis, if you feare the ſwords* (ſaith he) *and warres of Italy, you ought attentively to conſider, how great the* protection *of bleſſed* Peter, *the Prince of Apoſtles, is in this City, wherein without any great number of people, without the aid of ſouldiers, we have beene ſo ſo many yeeres in the midſt of words, by Gods providence ſafely preſerved from all hurt.*

But

But to returne againe to Saint *Chryſoſtome*, who in his Homily upon the Egyptian Martyrs, *Hom.* 70. *ad populum Antiochenum*, ſpeakes after this manner: *Theſe Saints bodies* (ſaith he) *fortifie* τειχίζει *our City more ſtrongly, than an impregnable wall of Adamant; and as certaine high rocks hanging on every ſide repell not onely the aſſaults of thoſe enimies, which are ſenſible and ſeen with the eye; but alſo overthrow and defeat the ambuſcadoes of inviſible fiends, and all the ſtratagems of the Divell.* Here you ſee are *Mahuzzims* too.

So long before, in the dayes of *Conſtantine*, *James* Biſhop of *Niſibis*, renowned for holineſſe, was according to order given by *Conſtantine* in his life time, ſaith *Gennadius*, buried within the wall of that City, being a Frontire of the Empire, *ob Cuſtodiam, viz. Civitatis. Gennad. de vir. illuſtr. cap.* 6.

Evagrius lib. 1. *c.* 13. tels us that the Antiochians offeredup a ſupplication to the Emperour *Leo* the firſt, about the yeere 460. for the keeping of the corps of holy *Simeon*, ſirnamed *Stylita*, or the *Pillariſt*, in this forme: *Becauſe our City hath no wall* (for it had beene domoliſhed in a Fury) *therefore we brought hither this moſt holy body, that it might be to us* τεῖχος καὶ ἐχύρωμα, a *Wall* and a *Fortreſſe*, which would be in Hebrew Language לשור ומבצר *Leſhur vlemahoz.*

Saint *Hilary* alſo will tell us, that neither the guards of Saints, nor *Angelorum munitiones*, the Bulwarks of Angels, are wanting to thoſe who are willing to ſtand: here Angels are *Mahuzzims*, as Saints were in the former.

The Greeks at this day, in their *Preces horariæ*, thus invocate the bleſſed Virgin: *O thou Virgin mother of God, thou impregnable wall, thou Fortreſſe of ſalvation,* מעוז וּמָעוֹז *Pſal.* 28. *we call upon thee, that thou wouldeſt fruſtrate the purpoſe of our enimies, and be a fence to this City:* thus they goe on, calling her the *hope, ſafeguard*

and *Sanctuary* of Christians : here is מעז מעזים *Mahoz Mahuzzim*, a strong *Mahoz* indeed.

To conclude, the titles of *Protectors*, *Guardians*, and *defenders*, which is the signification of *Mahuzzim*, when a person is meant, as they are more frequent, so are they no lesse ancient: *Greg. Nyssen.* in his third oration of the forty Martyrs, calls them δορυφοροὶ καὶ ὑπερασπισταὶ, *Guarders* and *Protectors*.

Eucherius his Saint *Gervase*, the perpetuall Propugnator, Protectour of the faithfull. *Theodoret. lib. 8. de curandis Græcorum affectionibus*, calls the holy Martyrs Guardians of Cities, Lieutenants of places, Captaines of men, Princes, Champions, and Guardians, by whom disasters are turned from us, and those which come from Devills debarred and driven away. I might here add something also concerning Images, whose worship is another part of the doctrine of Dæmons, and shew how well the name *Mahuzzim* would befit them, which the Iconomacicall Councell of *Constantinople* calls so unluckily Δαιμόνικα ὀχυρώματα, the *Fortresses*, or *Mahuzzim* of the Divell; and perhaps the nine and thirtieth verse in the fore-alledged Prophesie might be yet more literally translated, if the word עשה *facere* were taken in a religious sence: *And hee shall doe unto, or offer unto the holds of Mahuzzim, together with forreigne gods*; &c. that is, he shall doe religious service to the Images of Saints, together with Christ. I might also put you in mind of the terme *munimentum*, given to the Crosse, and that so usuall Latine phrase of *Munire signo Crucis*, to fortifie, that is, to signe with the signe of the Crosse; but I will not engage my self too farre in these Grammaticall speculations.

But *Constantinus Morossa* the Greek Historian inveighing against *Leo Isaurus* for demolishing images, cals them, *turres atque munitiones religiosi cultus*.

As for the following verses of this Prophesie, if any desire to know it, they may, as I think, be interpreted and applied thus.

Ver. 40. *And at the time of the end*, that is, in the Romans ὕστεροι καιροὶ, or *latter times*, *shall the King of the South*

South (that is, the Saracen) *push at him, and the King of the North* (the Turk) *shall come against him, like a whirlewind, with charets, and horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the Countries, and shall overflow and passe over.*

Ver. 41. *He shall enter also into the glorious Land* (Palestina) *and many shall be overthrowne, but these shall escape out of his hands, Edom and Moab, and the chiefe of the children of Ammon:* that is, the Inhabitants of *Arabia Petræa*, which were never yet Provincialls of the Turkish Empire; yea with some of them he is faine to be at Pension for the safer passage of his Caravans.

Ver. 42. *He* (the Turk) *shall stretch forth his hands also upon the Countreyes*, of those parts, *and the land of Egypt* (though it should hold out long under the *Mamalukes*, even till the yeere 1517) *shall not escape.*

Ver. 43. *But he shall have power over the treasures of gold, silver, and all the precious things of Egypt; and the Libyans and the Cushites*, that is, the neighbouring nations, whether of *Africke*, or *Libya*, as in those of *Algiers*, &c. or of the *Arabians* in Scripture called *Cushim shall be at his steps*, that is, at his devotion. That which remaines as I suppose is not yet fulfilled, and therefore I leave it: Time will make it manifest.

PART II.

Vers. 2. *Through the hypocrysie or faining of lyars,* ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων : *of those who have their consciences seared,* κεκαυτηριασμένων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν.

Vers. 3. *Of those who forbid to marry, and command to abstaine from meats,* Κωλυόντων γαμεῖν, ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων ; *which God hath created to bee received with thanksgiving of them that beleeve, and know the truth,* ἃ ὁ Θεὸς ἔκτισεν εἰς μετάλημψιν μετ' εὐχαριστίας τοῖς πιστοῖς καὶ ἐπεγνωκόσι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

OF the first part of this Propheſie, being a *deſcription* of the *Condition* of that *ſolemne defection* which was to come, I have ſpoken hitherto. I come now to the ſecond part of the diviſion, the *quality of the perſons*, and the *meanes whereby it was to enter*, and to be *advanced*, which is ſet forth in the verſes now read ; which though you may finde by others otherwiſe tranſlated, yet I hope the tranſlation which I have propounded, if the judicious Reader pleaſe to examine it, will approve it ſelfe not onely not to be an enforced one, but ſuch as ſalves that incongruity of conſtruction, which the other could not avoid ; for it is uſually tranſlated intranſitively, with reference to the perſons expreſſed in the former verſe, *viz.* that they ſhould ſpeake lies in hypocriſie, having their conſcience ſeared with an hot iron, and forbidding marriage, and commanding to abſtaine from meats ; ſo as that which in the former verſe, is named Doctrines of Devils, ſhould

onely meane that in generall tearmes, which in theſe verſes is particularly inſtanced, to be doctrines of prohibiting mariages, and abſtaining from meats, as two branches of that devilliſh doctrine; for ſo *Calvin*, *Melanſton*, and ſome others ſeeme to expound it. But why this interpretation ſhould not be the moſt likely: my firſt reaſon is:

Firſt, becauſe it makes Saint *Paul*, who ſpeaks of that great Apoſtaſie of Chriſtians, which was to be in the Later Times, to inſtance onely in the ſmaller; and if I may ſo ſay, almoſt circumſtantiall errours; and to omit this maine and principall, which the Sripture elſewhere tels us, ſhould be *Idolatry*, or *ſpirituall fornication*; who can beleeve that we could ſo balk the ſubſtance, and name that only, which in compariſon is but an Appendix thereto.

Secondly, He propheſies here in expreſſe words, of ſuch things as were to come, ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς, *in the Later Times*; but errours about marriage and meats, were no novelty in the Apoſtles owne times, as the diligent Reader may eaſily collect out of their Epiſtles; which makes it improbable that he would ſpecifie the Apoſtaſie of the later times in theſe alone.

Thirdly, But my laſt reaſon whereunto I thinke I may truſt, is, that the Syntax of the words in the Greek is uncapable of ſuch an intranſitive conſtruction, and conſequently of the ſenſe depending thereon; for the perſons intimated in the former verſe, are expreſſed *in caſu recto*, πινες ἀποστήσονται; but the perſons here intended, we finde in the genitive; ψευδολόγων, κεκαυστηριασμένων, κωλυόντων, which I cannot ſee how they can agree with πινες ἀποστήσονται, after the manner of intranſitive conſtruction, without breach of grammaticall congruity, not elſewhere ſampled in our Apoſtles Epiſtles; indeed they would agree with Δαιμονίων, but that would be a harſh ſenſe every way; for either we muſt ſay as ſome

Calvin, Beza.

doe, that by devils are meant devillish men, or men led by the devill, which is an hard signification; or else it would be a stranger sense, and I think not over-pliable to the usuall expositon, to say that devils should lie, have seared consciences, and forbid marriages, or meats: So that *Beza*, with others, had rather confesse a breach of Syntax, than incurre the inconvenience of such a forced sence. *Major est habita* (saith he) *sententia, quam constructionis ratio*; the Apostle heeded more the matter than he did the Grammar. But what needs this, so long as there is a better way to salve it? namely, to conster the words transitively, making all these genitive cases to be governed of ἐν ὑποκρίσει, as, ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων, by, or through the faining of lyars; ἐν ὑποκρίσει κεκαυτηριασμένων, through the faining of those who had their consciences seared; and so forward: which construction is observed and followed by *Andreas Hiperius*, one of our reformed Writers, who translates it, *per simulationem falsiloquorum, &c.* and expounds it, *de modo quo fallent spiritus impostorum, fallent per simulationem, seu hypocrisin falsiloquorum, &c.* and I beleeve that * many others have so taken it; for our late translations are indifferent to be taken either way: howsoever it be, I see no way but this, to keep the Syntax true and even, and wholly to avoid the fore-mentioned inconveniences: which as it is easie and obvious, and not strained, so I hope to let you see the event to have been most answerable thereunto: That this was the manner, and this the meanes, this the quality of the persons, whereby the doctrine of Dæmons was first brought in, advanced and maintained in the Church, *viz.* through the hypocrisie, faining craft, or counterfeiting of those who told lies, of those who had their consciences seared, &c.

* So *Castellio* seemes to understand it, translating it *per simulationem hominum falsiloquorum.*

As for the use of the Preposition (ἐν) to signifie *causam instrumentalem*, or *modum actionis*, he that is not a stranger in the Scripture, knowes to be most frequent, the Greeke

text

text borrowing it from the use of the Hebrew Preposition ב which the Hebrewes call ב׳ העזר as when it signifies In, ב״ כלי (1) *subjecti.* But two or three examples will not doe amisse: *Mat.5.13. If the salt hath lost its savour, wherewithall shall it be salted?* ἐν τίνι ἁλισθήσεται? *Acts 17.31. Because God hath appointed a day, in which he will judge the world in righteousnesse,* ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισε, *by the man whom he hath ordained. 2 Pet.3.1. I stirre up your pure minds,* ἐν ὑπομνήσει, *by way of remembrance. Tit.1.9. That he may be able,* ἐν διδασκαλίᾳ ὑγιαινούσῃ, *by sound doctrine, to exhort and convince the gainsayers, and most naturally to the businesse we have in hand. 2 Thes.2.9,10. Of the man of sinne, whose comming* (saith the Apostle) *is after the working of Sathan,* ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει, καὶ σημείοις, καὶ τέρασι ψεύδους, καὶ ἐν πάσῃ ἀπάτῃ τῆς ἀδικίας, *with all powers, and signs, and lying wonders* (or through them) *and through all deceivablenesse of unrighteousnesse,* &c. So in my Text, ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων, &c. *through the hypocrisie of Lyars.*

Vide etiam Ephes.4.14.

Now for the unfolding of these words, this must first be observed in generall, that they are not so to be underderstood, as if these, who are the bringers in, and advancers of the doctrines of Dæmons, should every one of them be guilty of all the severall imputations in this description; but they are to be construed rather as an asyndeton, by understanding the Conjunction, as if it had been thus uttered: Through the hypocrisie of Lyars, and through the hypocrisie of men of seared consciences, and lastly, by the hypocrisie of those who forbid marriages, and meats. Or thus: through the hypocrisie, partly of Lyars, partly of men of seared consciences, partly of those who forbid marriage, and command to abstaine from meats: and so though many were guilty of all, yet some may be exempt from some; as namely some may be guilty of the last note, of forbidding marriage, and abstaining from meats, and yet free of the former, of being coun-

In omni distributione omitti copulativa videtur, vix apponi. *Linacr.* Nonne sic etiam in Græcis.

counterfeit Lyars, and men of ſeared Conſciences: which I ſpeak for reverence of ſome of the Ancients, who though otherwiſe holy men, yet cannot be acquitted from all the imputations here mentioned, nor altogether excuſed from having an hand, through the Fate of the times wherein they lived, in laying the ground-work, whereon ſoon after the great Apoſtaſie was builded.

This therefore being remembred, I come now to the unfolding of them in ſeverall: and firſt of the firſt, the *hypocriſie of Lyars*, ὑποκρισεις ψευδολόγων. The word ὑπόκρισις ſignifies diſſimulation, a faining, counterfeiting, a ſemblance, and ſhew of that which is not ſo indeed, as it ſeemeth; and this word we muſt repeat, κατ' ἐξοχήν, as belonging, in common, with the reſt which followes; for all ſhould be counterfeit: lying ſhould carry the counterfeit of truth; the ſeared Conſcience, a ſemblance of devotion; the reſtraint of Marriage ſhould be but a ſhew of chaſtity; and abſtaining from meats, a falſe appearance of abſtinency: for the perſons of whom they are ſpoken, ſhould either make a ſhew of what themſelves knew was not; or that which they thought they had, ſhould be no better than a falſe ſhew, and counterfeit of that they took it for.

The Vulgar Latine in *Mat.*12.15. and the Syriack in the ſame place, turne the word *hypocriſis*, *verſutia*, *dolus*, craft and ſubtlety: which ſence, if need were, would not be denied admittance here. But I return to ὑποκρισεις ψευδολόγων, the *hypocriſie of Lyars*, which I conceive to be the ſame, and no other, than that which our Apoſtle ſpeaks in the ſame caſe, 2 *Theſſ.*2. where he tels us, that *the comming of the man of ſinne, and the Apoſtaſie attending him, ſhould be after the working of Sathan, with all power, and ſignes, and lying wonders; and with all deceivableneſſe of unrighteouſneſſe*, or unrighteous and ungodly deceiving; and that *God ſhould ſend them ſtrong deluſions, that they might beleeve a lye, &c.* Yea ſome of this, and

of

of that which followes in that place, may extend alſo to the reſt which followes in my Text, howſoever the moſt thereof, as you heare, doth moſt evidently expound this ὑπόκρισις ψευδολόγων, this *hypocriſie of Lyars*. Now according to the event, this *hypocriſie of Lyars* doth appeare in three things: 1 Lyes of Miracles. 2 Fabulous Legends of the Acts of Saints, and ſufferings of Martyrs. 3 Counterfeit writings under the name of the beſt and firſt antiquity. Lyes of Miracles will diſplay their hypocriſie in three particulars. 1 Forgery. 2 Illuſion, 3 Miſapplication. 1 Forgery of Miracles never done, as were the reports of wondrous dreames, and viſions, which had no other credit, but the Authors honeſty; or miraculous Cures, by the power and reliques of Saints deceaſed; as when thoſe who never were blind, made others beleeve they had newly received ſight. 2 Illuſion; when though ſomething were done, yet it was but a ſeeming, and a counterfeit onely of a miraculous work, indeed ſome jugling trick of the Divell, or of his inſtruments. Laſtly, Miſapplication; either when that was attributed to a divine power, which was nothing but ἐνέργεια τοῦ Σατανᾶ, the work and operation of the Divell: or when it was interpreted, and abuſed to invite and confirme men in ſome Idolatrous errour, as it happened in the miracle of the Shrines and Sepulchres of the holy Martyrs, which were interpreted to bee for the confirmation of their Power, Preſence, and notice of humane affaires after death, and to warrant us, and encourage men to have recourſe unto them by prayer, and invocation, as unto Mediatours; and to give that honour unto their Reliques, which was due unto God alone. The like is to be ſaid of the Miracles of Images, and of the Hoſt, which though they ſmelt ſtrong of Forgery, or Illuſion, were ſuppoſed by a divine diſpoſition to be wrought for the like end and purpoſe. All which was ἐνέργεια πλάνης, the power of ſeduction, or ſtrong deluſion, to make the world beleeve

leeve a Lye, as Saint *Paul* speakes 2 *Thessal.* 2. 11.

Concerning the hypocrisie of fabulous legend-Writers of the Acts of Saints and Martyrs, you know what it meanes, as also the last which was named Counterfeit Authors, under the name of Antiquity; as approving those errours which latter times devised; I shall not need here to use any further explication: and thus you see what is comprehended under ὑποκρισις ψευδολόγων, the hypocrisie, counterfeiting, or faining of Lyars. I should now come to display the truth of this particular of this Prophesie in the event; but I will first unfold the next imputation, ὑπόκρισις κεκαυτηριασμένων, the hypocrisie of those who have their consciences seared; which though it might be exemplified in other things, yet I meane to instance onely in that afore-mentioned, and so must give you the story of both together.

Ἐν ὑποκρίσει κεκαυτηριασμένων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν, &c. *Through the hypocrisie of those who have their consciences seared.* For ἐν ὑποκρίσει, as I said before, is to be repeated ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. Καυτήριον signifies both the place seared, and the mark printed by the searing with an hot iron. Καυτηριάζειν is to cauterize, to sear with an hot iron, or cut off with searing, as Chirurgions doe rotten members: now that which is seared, becomes more hard and brawny, and so more dull, and not so sensible in feeling as otherwise. In this sense κεκαυτηριασμένοι τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν signifies those who have a hard and a brawny Conscience, which hath no feeling in it: in the other sense as καυτηριάζειν is to cut off by searing, it must signifie those who have no conscience left; there is not much difference; but I follow the first, a hard and unfeeling Conscience. And whether those ψευδολόγοι, whereof we spake before (to use no other instances) were not of such metall, for their Conscience, I think no man can deny. Who could have coined, or who could have beleeved such monstrous stuffe, as the Legends are stored with, but such as were cauterized?

rized? If they had had any tenderneſſe or feeling, not only of Conſcience, but even of ſenſe, they could never have beleeved, or vented ſuch ſtuffe as there is. As *Vincent. hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 84.* That the Virgin *Mary* ſhould draw out her breaſts, and milk in I know not what Clerks mouth. That ſhe played the Midwife to an Abbeſſe, got with child by her Cater, and ſent the Baſtard by two Angels to a certaine Hermite to be brought up. *Idem ibid. c. 86.* That ſhe came and lay the firſt night in the midſt between a certain Bridegroome and his Bride. *Idem lib. 7. cap. 87.* *Caſarius* in his ſeventh book *cap. 34.* reports, that the Virgin *Mary*, for twelve whole yeeres together, did ſupply the place of a certain Nun, called *Beatrice*, while ſhe lay in the Stewes, till at length returning, ſhe freed the Virgin from ſtanding Sentinel any longer. And *lib. 7. cap. 33.* That ſhe ſaid to a certain Souldier, I'll be thy wife; come and kiſſe me, and made him doe ſo. That ſhe took a Monk about the neck and kiſſed him. In an Italian book called, *The miracles of the bleſſed Virgin*, printed at *Millaine* 1547. a certaine Abbeſſe being great with child, the holy Virgin willing to cover the crime, did in her ſtead preſent her ſelfe before the Biſhop in form of an Abbeſſe, and ſhewed by ocular demonſtration, that ſhe was not with child. *Faſciculus temporum*, written many yeeres agoe, tels us of Saint *Gilgols* wife uſed to ſing with her lower mouth, becauſe ſhe ſcoffed at her husbands Miracles.

But that which *Johannes de Nicol.* in his reformed Spanyard tels, that he read taken out of *Trithemius*, is the more worthy to be remembred, as being a principall motive in his converſion, who was till then extremely addicted to the Idol-worſhip of the bleſſed Virgin; which was much cooled, when he read that ſhe came into the chamber of Fryer *Allen* (a Dominican that made her Roſary) made a ring of her owne haire, wherewith ſhe eſpouſed her ſelfe unto him, kiſſed him, let him handle her

her breaſts, and converſed as familiarly with him, as a Bride is wont with her Bridegroome: whether think you not that theſe fellowes were ſeared in their conſcience? what block could have beene more ſenſleſſe? *Melchior Canus* ſpeaking of the golden legend, as they call it, a booke fraught with ſuch ſtuffe, as you have heard, me thinks almoſt expreſſes the meaning of a cauterized conſcience. *Hanc homo ſcripſit* (ſaith he) *ferrei oris, & plumbei cordis*, a fellow of an iron mouth, and leaden heart, as if he had ſaid, κεκαυτηριασμένης τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν, of a brawny and unfeeling conſcience.

But I come to ſhew how this prediction of our Apoſtle hath beene accompliſhed, how ἐμπλάσσοις ψευδολόγων, the couſening and feigning of lyars, was the meanes whereby the doctrine of Dæmons was advanced in the Church, I meane the deifying and worſhipping of Saints and Angels, the adoring and tempting of relicks, the bowing downe to Images, the worſhipping of Croſſes as new Idoll-columnes, the worſhipping of the breaden god, or of any viſible thing whatſoever upon ſuppoſall of any divinity therein: all which I have proved to be nothing elſe, but the Gentiles idolatrous Theology of Dæmons, revived amongſt Chriſtians.

The firſt of theſe, the deifying and invocating of Saints, and adoring relicks is the moſt ancient for time of all the reſt, and began to appeare in the Church preſently after the death of *Julian* the Apoſtate, who was the laſt Ethnicall Emperour; the grounds and occaſions whereof were moſt ſtrange reports of wonders ſhewed upon thoſe who approached the ſhrines of Martyrs, and prayed at their memories, and ſepulchers: devils charmed, diſeaſes cured, the blinde ſaw, the lame walked, yea the dead revived, and other the like, which the doctors of thoſe times for the moſt part avouched to be done by the power and prayers of glorified Martyrs, and by the notice they took of mens devotions at their ſepulchers; though

though at the beginning those devotions were directed to God alone, and such places only chosen for the stirring up of zeale and fervour, by the memory of those blessed and glorious Champions of Christ. But whiles the world stood in admiration, and the most esteemed of these wonders, as of the glorious beames of the triumph of Christ; they were soone perswaded to call upon them, as patrons and mediatours, whose power with God, and notice of things done upon earth, they thought that these signes and miracles approved.

Thus the reliques of Martyrs beginning to be esteemed above the richest jewels, for the supposed vertue even of the very ayre of them, were wonderfully sought after, as some *divine Elixar*, soveraigne both to body and soule. Whereupon another scene of wonders entred, even of visions, and revelations, wonderfull and admirable for the discovery of the sepulchers and ashes of Martyrs, which were quite forgotten, yea of some whose names and memories, till then, no man had ever heard of; as S. *Ambrose's Gervasius*, and *Protasius*. Thus in every corner of the Christian world were new Martyrs bones ever and anon discovered, whose verity againe miraculous effects and cures seemed to approve; and therefore were diversly dispersed, and gloriously templed, and enshrined. *Hil. lib. ad Constantium* intimates miraculous cures of the reliques of Martyrs to have been as ancient as his time, yea as the time of the Churches peace*. All these things happened in that one age, and were come to this heigth in lesse than 300 yeares. But here is the wonder most of all to be wondred at, that none of these miraculous signes were ever heard of in the Church, for the first 300 yeares after Christ, untill about the yeare 360; after that the Empire under *Constantine* and his sonnes, having publickly embraced the Christian faith, the Church had peace, and the bodies of the despised Martyrs, such as could be found, were now bestowed in most magni-

* Plus crudelitati vestræ, Nero, Deci, Maximiniane debemus. Diabolum enim per vos vicimus, Sanctus ubiq; beatorũ Martyrum sanguis exceptus est; dum in his Dæmones mugiunt, dum ægritudines depelluntur &c. At tu (id est Constanti) omnium crudelitatum crudelissime damno majore in nos, & veniã minore, desævis, &c.

magnificent Temples, and there gloriously enshrined. And yet had the Christians long before used to keep their Assemblies at the * Cœmiteries and monuments of their Martyrs; how came it to passe, that no such vertue of their bones and ashes, no such testimonies of their power after death, were discovered untill now?

* See *Clem. Con. fol.* 106.

Babylas his bones were the first that all my search can finde, which charmed the devill of *Daphne*, *Apollo Daphneus*, when *Julian* the Apostate offered so many sacrifices to make him speak; and being asked why he was so mute, forsooth, the corps of *Babylas* the Martyr, buried neere the Temple in * *Daphne*, stopped his windpipe. I feare, I feare here was some hypocrisie in this businesse, and the devill had some feate to play: the very name of *Babylas* is enough to breed jealousie, it is an ominous name, the name *Babylas*; yea, and this happened too at *Antioch*, where *Babylas* was Bishop and Martyr in the persecution of *Decius*. Would it not doe the devill good, there to beginne his mystery, where the Christian name was first given to the followers of Christ? howsoever this was then farre otherwise construed, and a conceit quickly taken, that other Martyrs bones might bee found upon triall, as terrible to the devill, as those of *Babylas*; which was no sooner tryed, but experience presently verefied with improvement, as you heard before; so that all the world rung so with wonders done by Martyrs, that even holy men, who at the first suspected, were at length surprised, and carried away with the power of delusion.

* A delicate suburbs of *Antioch*.

Besides the silence of all undoubted * antiquity of any such sepulchral wonders to have happened in the former ages, the very manner of speech, which the fathers living in this miraculous age used, when they spake of these things, will argue they were then accounted novelties, and not as continued from the Apostles times. *Chrisostome* in his oration *contra Gentiles*, of the businesse of *Babylas*

* Adde, that no such thing could bee, so long as they used to pray for Martyrs, as well as others of the dead. See *Clement. & alios.*

Babylas speakes thus; ὥστε ἀπιστεῖ τοῖς κατὰ τοὺς Ἀποστόλους γεγραμμένοις τὰ πάροντα θεωρῶν παύεσθω τῆς ἀναιδείας? *If any man beleeves not these things, which are said to be done by the Apostles, let him now beholding the present, desist from his impudency. Ambros. Epist. ad sororem Marcellinam,* relating of a peece of the speech he made, upon the translations of the bodyes of *Gervasius* and *Protasius*, and the miracles then shewed, *reparata* (saith he) *vetusti temporis miracula cernitis: You see the miracles of ancient times* (hee meanes the time of Christ and his Apostles) *renewed. S. August. lib. de civ. Dei 22. cap. 8.* in a discourse of the miracles of that time, saith; We made an order to have bills given out of such miracles as were done, when wee saw the wonders of ancient times renewed in ours: *Id namque fieri volumus, cùm videremus antiquis similia divinarum signa virtutum, etiam nostris temporibus frequentari, & ea non debere multorum notitia deperire.* But alas, now began the ὕστεροι καιροὶ, this was the fatall time, and thus the Christian Apostasie was to be ushered; If they had knowne this, it would have turned their joyous shoutings and triumphs, at these things, into mourning.

The end, which these signes and wonders aymed at, and at length brought to passe, should have made them remember that warning which was given the ancient people of God: *Deut. 13. If there arise among you a Prophet, or a dreamer of dreames, and giveth thee a signe or a wonder; and that signe or wonder come to passe, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us goe after other Gods and serve them; thou shalt not harken unto the words of that Prophet, or dreamer of dreames: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soule.* But why should I goe any further, before I tell you, that even in this also, the idolatry of Saint-worship was a true counterfeit of the Gentiles idolatry of Dæmons? Did not

In which respect διδασκαλίαι δαιμονίων, though the Genitive case were taken actively, would signifie the Idolatry of Saint-worship, *viz.* the worship of the dead, which the Devils are wont thus to counterfeit.

Dæmon-worſhip enter after the ſame manner? was it not firſt inſinuated, and afterward eſtabliſhed by ſignes, and wonders of the very ſelfe ſame kinde, and faſhion? Liſten what *Euſebius* will tell us in his fifth book *Præparat. Evangel. cap.* 2. according to the Greek edition of *Rob. Stephen*, when (ſaith he) thoſe wicked ſpirits (as he proved them to be which were worſhipped under the names of Dæmons) ſaw mankinde brought off to a deifying of the dead (he meanes by erecting ſtatues, and ordaining ceremonies and ſacrifices for their memorialls) ἐγγυθὲν ἐφέδροι καὶ συνεργοὶ τῆς πλάνης παρῆσαν; they inſinuated themſelves, and helped forward their errour: Κινήσεσι τισι τῶν ξοάνων ἃ δὴ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τῶν κατοιχομένων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀφιέρωται; by certaine motions of the ſtatues, which anciently were conſecrated to the honour of the deceaſed: as alſo ταῖς δὶα χρησμῶν φαντασίαις, θεραπείαις τε σωμάτων; by oſtentation of oracles and cures of diſeaſes, whereby they then ſuperſtitious ranne headlong, ſometimes to take them to be ſome heavenly powers and Gods indeed, and ſometimes to be τάς τῶν τε θεοποιημένων Ηρώων ψυχὰς; the ſoules of their deified worthies. And ſo (ſaith he) the earth-neighbouring-Dæmons which are the princes of the Ayre, thoſe ſpiritualities of wickedneſſe, and ring-leaders of all evill, were on all hands accounted for great Gods: ἥτε τῶν παλαὶ νεκρῶν μνήμη τῆς μείζονος ἠξιοῦτο θεραπείας; and the memory of the ancients deceaſed was thought worthy to be celebrated with a greater ſervice; the features of whoſe bodies the dedicated images in every city ſeemed to repreſent; but the ſoules of them, and thoſe diviner and incorporeall powers, οἱ φαῦλοι Δαίμονες κοθυπεκρίνοντο δία πολλῆς τ' τερατοποιίας; the wicked Dæmons counterfeited by working many miracles.

Heare *Tertullian* alſo ſpeak in his Apology to the Gentiles, *cap.* 21. *in fine. Quærite ergò ſi vera eſt iſta divinitas Chriſti: ſi eſt ea quâ cognitâ ad bonum quis reformetur,*

ſequitur

sequitur ut falsa renuntietur, compertâ imprimis illâ omni ratione, quæ delitescens sub nominibus & imaginibus mortuorum, quibusdam signis & miraculis, & oraculis, fidem divinitatis operatur. Search therefore this Deity of Christ, whether it be true, or not; if it be that, by the knowledge whereof a man shall be reformed to good, it followes then, that the false be renounced; especially, that whole mysterie (he meanes of Gentiles Idolatry, and Dæmon-worship) being discovered, which under the names and Images of the dead, through Signes, Miracles, and Oracles, obtaineth an opinion of divinity.

Chrysostome shall conclude, who in his Oration *In Judaizantes* saith, that the Dæmons of the Gentiles wrought Miracles for the confirmation of Paganisme, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πολλὰ πολλάκις διὰ τῆς αὐτῶν τέχνης νοσήματα ἀπήλασαν, καὶ πρὸς ὑγιείαν τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐπανήγαγον: τὶ οὖν κοινωνεῖσαι δεῖ τῆς ἀσεβείας διὰ τοῦτο; μὴ γένοιτο. For (saith he) they oftentimes by their skill cured diseases, and restored to health those that were sick; what should we partake therefore with them in their impiety, because of this? God forbid. Then he adds out of *Moses, Deut.* 13. that which we even now quoted; which, had it been as well applied to the miracles amongst Christians present, as it was to those of the Gentiles past, perhaps he that spoke it, would have questioned something which he enclined to beleeve.

Savil. Tom. 6. p. 376. alii Rem. primâ adversus Iudæos.

The second particular I named of ἀπόκρισις ψευδολόγων, was fabulous Legends of the Acts of Saints and Martyrs; this was also another meanes to advance the doctrines of Dæmons. For the true acts and stories of Martyrs being extinguished for the most part, by the bloody Edict of *Dioclesian*, they now began to supply againe that losse, by collecting such tales as were then current of them, and adding thereto such miracles as were fabled after death, fashioned all to the best advantage of what they meant to promote in the Church, and was already on foot in

the same. Such was that wherwith the good Father *Greg. Nazian.* was abused in his funeral Oration upon *Cyprian*, and many others of the Greek Churches; that *Cyprian*, that great *Cyprian*, who was both Citizen and Bishop of *Carthage*, in the reign of *Decius* (for of him *Gregory* speaketh expresly) even being formerly a Conjurer, and falling into love with a Christian Virgin *Justina*, some say of *Antioch*, when as by wooing and ordinary meanes he could not win her unto his will, he went about to prevaile with Magick spells and conjurations; which the damsell perceiving, she having recourse to God, fell to work against him with prayer and fasting, and in her devotions also besought the Virgin *Mary* to succour her a Virgin in that jeopardy: by which meanes *Cyprians* Magicall enchantments were frustrated, and he convinced thereby, became a Christian. All which *Baronius* himselfe confesseth to be a fable, as well he might, it being unknowne both to *Pontius* his Deacon, who lived with him, and wrote his life; and to the western, and African Churches, where he lived and died: who knew, and who could know better, that in his Paganisme he was not a Magitian, but a Professour of Oratory at *Carthage*, farre enough from *Antioch*, and converted by one *Cacilius*? Nevertheless, we have cause to think, that this tale, together with the like, served not a little for the advancement of the mystery of Dæmons in the Easterne Churches; when we see our Adversaries so willing to have that passage (as seemes by their often alledging it) of calling upon the blessed Virgin to be authenticall; notwithstanding they know (which the Greeks so well could not, he being a Latine Bishop) that the whole story must needs be a fable. Of this stamp are the well known Legends of our Latine Churches, which almost all of them drive principally at this mark; it being also the ordinary conclusion of their tales (sure of our English) that since God hath done thus and thus by this holy Martyr, or sith God hath

with

with ſuch myracles honoured this martyr, let us pray unto him, that by his merits and Interceſſion wee may obtain ſalvation. Nor is it a late device; *Greg. Turonenſis* above a thouſand yeares agoe in his two books *de miraculis martyrum*, as his fabulous narrations, (which yet many of them hee referres to others before him) are excellently well framed for the promotion of Saint-worſhip; ſo in the Concluſion of them hee plainly confeſſes, that that was his ayme ſhutting up his firſt booke thus. *Vnde oportet et nos eorum Patrocinia expetere, ut eorum meeamur Suffragiis, vel quod noſtris dignimon ſumus meritis obtinere, eorum poſſumus Interceſſionibus adipiſci, &c.* His ſecond thus; *Ergò his miraculis lector intendens intelligat, non aliter niſi Martyrum reliquorumq, amicorum Dei adjutoriis ſe poſſe ſalvari. &c:*

This *Gregory* of *Towres* died *Anno* 596.

But among the Greeks *Simeon Metaphraſtes* hath a ſtrain beyond us all, who makes prayers for many of his Martyrs, wherin they deſire of God, that whoſoever ſhould pray unto him in their names, or have recourſe to their ſepulchers, when they were glorified, might obtain whatſoever they aske, yea remiſſion of ſins itſelfe: which becauſe it is ſo ſingular a counterfeit of a lying Greek I ſhal not doe amiſſe to inſert the particulars, together with ſomething about the occaſion and time of this device.

But I find now the ſame in the *Aurea Legenda* of all the ſoling Martyrs, ſave the firſt, which is not there. S. *Barbara* is but the Appendix.

In the Martydome of *Anaſtaſia* a Roman Virgin under *Diocletian*, he tells us if we be ſo wiſe as to beleeve it,

That at the time of her ſuffering, when ſhe had, as was fit, given thanks unto God, and prayed for the happy accompliſhment of her Martyrdome, and afterward made ſuit for thoſe who being ſick ſhould have recourſe unto her (*viz.* after death) ſhe heard a voice from heaven certifying, that what ſhe had asked was granted her.

Saint

Saint *Barbara*, a Virgin of *Heliopolis*, martyred under *Maximilianus*, he makes, under the Executioners hand, to pray in this manner:

And thou O King (God) now heare my prayer, that whoſoever ſhall remember thy name, and this my conflict, no peſtilent diſeaſe may enter upon this houſe, nor any other of thoſe evils, which may bring dammage, or trouble to the bodies of men. She had no ſooner ſpoken, ſaith he, but a voice was miraculouſly heard from heaven, calling her and her fellow Martyr *Julian* to the heavenly places, and promiſing alſo that thoſe things, which ſhe had asked, ſhould be accompliſhed.

In Saint *Blaſius* (who ſuffered, ſaith *Baronius*, under *Licinius*) our *Simeon* tels us,

That when a woman came unto him to cure her ſon, who had a fiſh-bone ſticking in his throat, he prayed in this manner: *Thou O Saviour, who haſt been ready to help thoſe who called upon thee, heare my prayer, and by thy inviſible power take out the bone which ſticks in this child, and cure him; and whenſoever hereafter the like ſhall befall men, children, or beaſts, if any of them ſhall remember my name, ſaying, O Lord haſten thy help through the interceſſion of thy ſervant* Blaſius, *doe thou cure him ſpeedily, to the honour and glory of thy holy name.*

Againe he tels us, while they were carrying him before the Preſident, he reſtored to a poore widow a hog, her onely hog, which a Wolfe had taken away from her. And when as afterward, in ſigne of thankfulneſſe ſhe brought the hogs head and feet boiled to the Martyr in priſon, he bleſſing her, ſpake in this maner: *Woman in this habit celebrate my memoriall, and no good thing ſhall ever be wanting in thy houſe from my God: yea and if any other, imitating of thee, ſhall in like manner celebrate my memoriall,*

riall, he ſhall receive an everlaſting gift from my God, and a bleſſing all the dayes of his life.

When he comes to ſuffer, he makes him pray to God thus: *Heare me thy ſervant, and whoſoever ſhall have recourſe to this thine Altar,* (he meanes himſelfe) *and whoſoever ſhall have ſwallowed a bone, or prickle, or be vexed with any diſeaſe, or be in any affliction, neceſſity, or perſecution, grant Lord to every one his hearts deſire, as thou art gracious and mercifull, for thou art to be glorified now and evermore.*

When he had thus prayed (ſaith he) Chriſt deſcended from heaven in a cloud, and overſhadowed him: and our Saviour ſaid unto him, *O my beloved Champion, I will not onely doe this, but that alſo which thou diddeſt requeſt for the widow; and will bleſſe alſo every houſe which ſhall celebrate thy memory, and I will fill their ſtore-houſes with all good things, for this thy glorious confeſſion, and thy faith which thou haſt in me.*

Saint *Catharine*, whom he calls *Ægatharina*, a Martyr of *Alexandria*, under *Maximilianus*, he makes to pray thus at her Martyrdome.

Grant unto thoſe, O Lord, who through me ſhall call upon thy holy Name, ſuch their requeſts as are profitable for them, that in all things thy wondrous works may be praiſed now and evermore.

But above all the reſt, *Marina's* prayer, whom we Latines call Saint *Margaret*, is compleat, and for the purpoſe; ſhe ſuffered under *Diocleſian*, and thus ſhe prayed, if your dare beleeve *Simeon*.

And now, O Lord my God, whoſoever for thy ſake ſhall worſhip this Tabernacle of my body, which hath fought for thee; and whoſoever ſhall build an Oratory in the name

*of thy handmaid, and therein offer unto thee spirituall sacrifices, oblations, and prayers; and all those who shall faithfully * describe this my conflict of Martyrdome, and shall read and remember the name of thy handmaid: give unto them, most holy Lord, who art a lover of all the good, and a friend of soules, remission of sinnes; and grant them propitiation and mercy, according to the measure of their faith, and let not the revenging hand come neere them, nor the evill of famine, nor the curse of pestilence, nor any grievous scourge; nor let any incurable destruction either of body or soule betide them. And to all those who shall in faith and truth adhere to my house* (her Oratory or Chappell) *or unto my name, and shall unto thee, O Lord, offer glory and praise, and a sacrifice in remembrance of thine Handmaid, and shall aske salvation and mercy through me, grant them, O Lord, abundant store of all good things; for thou alone art good and gracious, and the giver of all good things for ever and ever. Amen.*

* O happy Simeon.

While she was thus praying with her selfe (* saith *Simeon*) behold there was a great earthquake, yea and the Lord himselfe, with a multitude and host of holy Angels standing by her, in such sort as was perceptible to the understanding, said; *Be of good cheare* Marina, *and feare not, for I have heard thy prayers, I have fulfilled, and will in due time fulfill whatsoever thou hast asked, even as thou hast asked it.*

* If she prayed this prayer with her selfe, by what revelation was it made knowne to others?

Thus saith *Simeon*; who nevertheless in the very entrance of this his tale of *Marina*, or *Margaret*, complains much, forsooth, that not a few of these narrations of the acts of Martyrs, were at the beginning forgot, yea profaned (as he saith more truly than he was aware of) *Evidentissimis Dæmoniorum doctrinis.* Besides, he calls I know not what narration of the Virgins Martyrdom, in that sort corrupted, *dictio Dæmoniaca*; but for his own part, he would reject all counterfeit fables, and tels us nothing but the truth; which how honestly he hath performed, and

and what touchstone he used, let the Reader judge. [a] *Baronius* I am sure is quite ashamed of him, who though he can be sometimes content to trade with not much better ware, yet this of *Simeons* he supposes will need very much washing and cleansing, before it be merchantable.

[a] In notis ad martyrologium Roman. Iul. 13.

But for the better understanding of this mystery of iniquity, and what necessity there was of such desperate shifts, when time was; ye shall know, that this *Simeon* lived towards the end of that time of great and long opposition against Idolatry, in the Greeke and Easterne Churches, by divers Emperours, with the greatest part of their Bishops, Peeres, and people, lasting from about the yeere of our Lord 720, till after 840, that is, 120 yeers; which was not against Images onely, though they bore the name; but the worship of Saints, and their reliques; the state whereof shall not be amisse to represent out of such records of Antiquity, as our Adversaries themselves have been pleased to leave us; if it be but for their sake who so often ask us, whether there were ever any of our religion before *Luther*. Let us therefore hear what Writers of their own sect, such as then lived, and were eyewitnesses, will tell us. *Leo Isaurus* (saith *Theophanes, miscel. lib. 21. cap. 23.*) erred not onely about the * respective adoration of venerable Images; but about the intercession of the most chast Mother of God, and all the Saints, whose reliques also the most wicked man abominated, like unto his masters the Mahumetans. This was the first of those Emperours: the next was *Constantinus*, whom they sirnamed *Copronimus*, of whom the same Author (*ibid. cap. ult.*) speaks as followeth: *This pernicious*, (saith he) *inhumane, and barbarous Emperour abusing his authority tyrannically, and not using it lawfully, at the very beginning made an Apostasie from God, and from his undefiled Mother, and from all his Saints.* Again, *lib. 22. c. 42. Upon the twenty sixth yeere of his reign he shewed himself wicked, beyond the frenzie of the Mahumetans, to all that*

* σχετικὴν τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων προσκύνησιν.

were Orthodox (so he calls Idolaters) under his Empire, Bishops, Monks, Laymen, and others his subjects: every where, as well by writing as by speech, banishing, as unprofitable, the Intercession of the holy Virgin and Mother of God, and of all the Saints, through which all succour is conveyed unto us; and causing their holy reliques to be rejected and despised: and if the reliques of any notable Saint, soveraigne both to body and soule, were knowne to lie any where, and were, as the manner is, honoured by those which were religious, presently he threatned such as these with death, as wicked doers, or else with banishment, proscriptions, and torture. As for the reliques acceptable to God, and esteemed by the possessours as a treasure, they were taken from them, from thence forward to be made hatefull things.

Again, cap. 48. of the next yeere.

If one getting a fall, or being in pain, chanced to utter the usuall language of Christians, saying, O Mother of God help me; or were found keeping vigils, &c. he was adjudged as the Emperours enemy, and stiled Immemorabilis, unworthy of memory; this was a title of infamy.

Again, cap. 54. anno regni 31.

If one were found to have a relique but to keep (that is, though he worshipped it not) yet nevertheless did Lichanodraco the Emperours President burn it, and punish him that had it as a wicked doer. Thus farre Theophanes.

Habetur in operibus Damasceni auctis, interprete Jacobo Billio, ex Reginæ matris bibliotheca, & apud Surium, Tom. 6. Nov. 28.

Heare now what the Author of the Acts of Monk Stephen, whom the same Emperour made one of their Martyrs for patronizing Idols, can tell us; heare what he saith of the great Councell of Constantinople, held in this Emperours reigne against Images.

O Christ, how should I not admire thy lenity! — To that height did those most impudent tongues yet further break out,

out, that they were not afraid to utter that monſtrous and impious ſpeech, viz. *that the very Virgin Mother of God her ſelfe was now after her death unavailable, and no uſe to be made of her, nor could ſhe help or protect any one.*

The ſame Author thus deplores the ſtate of thoſe times, abuſing the words of *Pſalme* 79.

O God the heathen are come into thine Inheritance; thy holy Temple have they defiled, and made Hieruſalem an heape of ſtones; The dead bodyes of thy ſervants have they given to be meat to the fowles of the aire, and the fleſh of thy Saints unto the beaſts of the earth; that is (ſayth he) *the venerable and ſacred reliques of the Martyrs, quas partim igni, partim mari, partim denique, (ô facinus orbi univerſo damnum ferens) precipitiis tradiderunt*; which they caſt partly into the fire, partly into the water (O villanous act wherby the whole world is damnified) partly threw down into precipices.

There is nothing yet in theſe relations will doe any man hurt, by engendring a miſconceit, eſpecially if hee remember the tale is told by malicious Adverſaries, that counterfeit reliques were plentifull in thoſe dayes as well as now: That *Hezekiah* brake in pieces the brazen Serpent, made by Gods owne Commandement, a holy monument and type of Chriſt, when it was once abuſed to Idolatry.

After the death of this Emperour *Conſtantine*, and his ſon, who reigned not long after him, the idolatrous faction, under *Conſtantine* his nephew, and the Queen mother *Irene*, againe for ſome yeeres prevailed; and that ſo farre, as to pack a * Councell, the Biſhop of *Rome* having a maine ſtroke therein; whereby the former Councell of *Conſtantinople* was condemned, and the worſhip of Images again eſtabliſhed. But *Leo Armenius* comming to the Empire, the Orthodox part again prevailed, as before they had done, during the reigne of three Emperours

* Called the ſecond of *Nice*

more. The last Emperour of the opposers of Idols was *Theophilus*, the last Patriarch *John*, and that to the very end; the Idolatry of Saint-worship was opposed more or lesse, as well as that of Images, as may be gathered out of that επινίκιον, or the song of triumph, which the Greeks usedto sing the first Sunday in Lent, for a memoriall of their last and finall conquest of the opposers of Images, ever since that time, where in the hymne of *Theodorus Ode* 8. I find this verse, Τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν ἁγίων λείψανα καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν, Λήζιξ ὁ δεινὸς, ἅμα τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, οὐδ' ὅλως προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἔφασκεν ἀνόμως, οἱ ἀρνηταὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας: (*i.e.*) *The sacred reliques of the Saints, and their Images, were not at all to be worshipped, said most wickedly the renouncers of piety, the barbarous* Lezick *and* John. This *Iohn* is that Patriarch of *Constantinople* which I said was the last of the opposers of Idols, and is often mentioned in this song, as is also *Lezick*, but what he was is uncertaine. But the whole story being delivered unto us onely by profest enimies, if they should fasten no worse calumnies upon the opposite side than yet you have heard, you would think perhaps that the Patrones of Idols then were farre more ingenuous to their Adversaries, than we find their Successours now.

Habetur apud Baron an. 842. 28.

Heare therefore something of this kind also, that you may see as they agreed with us in the same profession against Idols, so did they also in suffering the like slanderous lyes from their Adversaries; in discoursing whereof I shall be neerer to ὑπόκρισις ψευδολόγων, than I was before.

In that great Councell of 338 Bishops, held at *Constantinople* against Idols, under *Constantinus Copronymus*, were, by some that wished well to Saint-worship, though they consented against Images, these two Canons inserted into the first draught of the definition of the Synod. First, if any one should not confesse the holy and ever blessed Virgin *Mary*, truly and properly *Deipara*, (the Mother of

of God) to be higher than any visible or invisible creature, and with a sincere faith implores not her intercession, let him be Anathema. Secondly, If any one shall not confesse all the Saints which have been from the beginning of the world untill now, to be honourable before God both in soule and body, or shall not entreat their prayers, let him be Anathema: which, when the definition came to be read in the Councell, the prevailing part of the Fathers caused to be blotted out; [a] whereupon that slander, fastened on them by their enimies, may seem to have taken the first hint, as if forsooth by their rejecting these two foisted Canons, they had therefore denied whatsoever was contained in them, as that the Virgin *Mary* was *Deipara*, or Mother of God; or that the Saints were to be honoured so much, as with that honourable title of Saints.

For *Cedrenus* would make us beleeve, that this Emperour *Constantine* published a generall law, θεσμὸν καθολικὸν, that none of the servants of God should in any wise be called *Saints*: yea that such of their reliques as were found, should be despised, and their intercession not to be prayed for; because, said he, they can availe nothing. The prophane wretch added (saith the same Authour) Let no man pray for the intercession, no not of *Mary*, for she can doe him no good, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ θεοτόκον αὐτὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι; moreover, that she could not be called *Deipara*, the Mother of God. Then he tels us, that hee compared the blessed Virgin, after she was delivered of Christ, to a purse of gold, after it is emptied of the gold that was once in it. The same with *Cedrenus*, almost word for word, hath *Suidas*, so that the one may seem to have been transcribed out of the other.

But *Theosterictus*, one who lived at the same time, whereas *Cedrenus* was more than 240 yeeres after, seemes much more ingenuous, for in his funerall Oration upon *Nicetas*, a [a] Confessour of those times, whose Disciple he

[a] μετὰ τὴν ἔκδοσιν ἀτῶν ταύτην, καὶ τὴν τῶν πρεσβείων εὐπρόσδεκτον τῷ θεῷ προσαγωγὴν ἀπεβάλοντο λειώσαντες ταύτην ἐκ τοῦ δὲ αὐτῶν συγγράμματος, καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασι πάντες, saith the Confuter *Conc. Nic. 2. act. 6. tom. 6.*

Apud Surium Apr. 3. tom. 2.

[a] Vnder *Leo Armenius.*

he was, relating otherwiſe the ſame things that *Cedrenus* and *Suidas* doth; yet when he comes to the ſtory of the purſe, he brings in the Emperor, expreſly calling the Virgin *Mary*, *Deipara*; but finds fault, that he would not vouchſafe her the name *Saint*. *Ita Deiparens Maria* (ſaith he) *neque enim ſanctam dignabatur nominare illam* (ſaith *Theoſterictus*) *indignus ille*; *quo tempore Chriſtum in ſe habebat, valde honoranda illa erat*; *ex quo autem tempore illum peperit, nihil differebat à reliquis*. Indeed it ſeemes at the wiping out of theſe fore-mentioned Canons, there paſſed ſomething in the Councell (as is wont in ſuch diſputes) concerning an indifference or lawfulneſſe in ordinary ſpeech to mention ſuch places, as were dedicated to the memory of Saints, without the addition of the name Saint. For I find that *Stephen* the Monk, afterward forſooth a Martyr, at what time the Emperour ſent ſome of the Biſhops and others unto him, to require his ſubſcription to the decree of the Councell, thus expoſtulates with them: *Did yee not* (ſaith he) *diſcard that adjective* Saint *from all the Juſt, from all the Apoſtles, from the Prophets, from the Prophets, Martyrs, and other godly men? for it was bravely decreed by you, That when any one were going to any of theſe, and were asked whither he went, he ſhould anſwer, to the Apoſtles, to the fourty Martyrs; or being asked whence he came, he ſhould in like manner ſay, From the Temple of Martyr* Theodore, *or from the Temple of the Martyr* George.

Mir. The Emperour.

But *Theoſterictus* tells the ſame thing of the Emperour *Conſtantine* himſelfe. *Sanctos Martyres* (ſaith he) *quantum in ipſo erat, honore privavit, cum praeceperit illos non eſſe Sanctos appellandos; ſed ſimpliciter nominari Apoſtolos, quadraginta Martyres*, Theodorum, Georgium, *& alios ſimiliter*: he deprived, as much as in him lay, the holy Martyrs of honour, in that he commanded, they ſhould not be ſtiled *Saints*, but ſimply named the fourty Martyrs, *Theodore, George*, &c. Whereby it appeares, that this law

(whatsoever it was that these Authors charge the Emperour with) was something which proceeded from the Councell it self, as Monk *Stephen* even now charged them. Besides, that it was something onely about the calling of places dedicated to Saints, though our Authors (as Calumniators use) tell it of Saints at large.

Lastly, it seemes to have growne upon some question, how farre, and in what kind, Saints were to be honored, which was occasioned by the wiping out of those Canons afore-mentioned.

Johannes Curopalata and *Cedrenus* relate, that *Michael Balbus*, the last save one of the Emperours that opposed Idols, ἐθέσπισε μὲν τινι τῶν γεγραμμένων εἰκόνων κἂν πῦ γραφήσεσθαι τύχοιεν τὸν (Ἁγίοις) φώνην ἐγχαράττεσθαι; ordained, that the word Saint should not be set upon any Images wheresoever they were painted (for this was, and as some say * is yet, the fashion of the Greeks, to add the names of the Saints to the Images that represent them) now if any such thing as this were done, or discoursed of, in the dayes of *Constantinus*, whom they call *Copronimus*, you may easily ghesse what fuell it might adde to the fire of that slander we speak of.

* *Possevinus in sua Moscovia.*

But why should we trouble our selves any longer to find out the originall of that, which we are certain was a notorious lie? for it is apparent in the definition of the Councell it selfe, which is thus calumniously charged, that they both give the title of Saints often to the Apostles, Fathers, and others, and of *Deipara* to the blessed Virgin. I shall not need to recount every place where they give the title of Saint to particulars; heare but what they say in generall: *Sancti qui Deo placuerunt, & ab ipso sunt,* τῷ ἀξιώματι τῆς ἁγιότητος, *dignitate sanctitatis honorati vivunt semper Deo, licèt hinc migraverunt:* the Saints which pleased God, and are by him honoured with the dignity of Saint-ship, though they be departed hence, yet to God they live alwayes. Againe, *Nefas est Christianis*

nis, Δαιμονολατρων ἐθνῶν, *Dæmonum cultricum Gentium moribus uti, & Sanctos qui tali & tantâ gratiâ resplendebunt (sc. conregnare cum Christo, & judicare orbem terrarum, & conformes fieri gloriæ ipsius) in ingloriâ & mortuâ materiâ, ἐνυβρίζειν, contumeliâ afficere*: It is unlawfull for Christians to use the fashions of Gentiles, who worshipped Dæmons or Devils; and in a base and liveleſſe matter (they meane Images) to dishonour the Saints, who shall one day shine in such and so great grace and glory, *viz.* to reigne with Christ, and to judge the world, and to be made like to his glory, as they said a little before, *Concil. Nicen. 2. Art. 6. Tom. 4.*

As for the other part of the calumny, about stiling the the Virgin *Mary*, *Deipara*, heare not onely what they practised, but what they expresly decreed, *ibid. Tom. 6.* εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ Θεὸν ἀληθείας τὴν Ἐμμανουὴλ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον, Ἀνάθεμα: If any one shall not confesse God to be truly Emmanuel, and therefore the holy Virgin to bee *Deipara*, the Mother of God, let him bee *Anathema*. Here the blessed Virgin hath both the name of Saint (ἁγία) and θεοτόκος, *mother of God* given her. All this you shall find in the sixth act of the idolatrous Councell of *Nice*, where the enimies, while they would confute the definition of the Synod of *Constantinople*, have preserved it, which else had utterly perished, as the Acts thereof have done.

Now judge whether *Constantine* and his Councell were guilty or not, of what the idolatrous faction charged them with. We may wonder the lesse at this notorious impudency of lying companions, seeing we have like experience of such calumnies fastened upon our selves this day; though there be so many thousand eyes and eares, and writings too, which confute them.

And thus you have seen what manner of times they were, about the end of which our *Simeon Metaphrastes* lived. Was it not high time for him think you, and those

hands

hands to which hee was beholding (for I will not charge him with all) to ply the old craft, and reenforce the Legends with new lyes, when the credit of Saint-worship lay thus a bleeding? It is not credible they would bee so much wanting to themselves. And it is as apparent, that those tales of the new strain, which wee had out of *Simeon*, were coined in this age, and not before; For if any such thing had been knowen, or delivered from elder times, how came it to passe, no notice thereof was given us by any writer of Ecclesiasticall story, by any father, by any Compiler or forger of Martyrs lives and miracles till now? Certainly so miraculous and wonderfull things, as voyces from heaven, and Christ descending thence in a cloud, and the like, had been worth the telling: But alas, they could speak but little of these Martyrs, save only the names and times of their sufferings. And thus I end my digression, which yet I hope hath not been altogether impertinent to the present argument.

The last particular of ὑποκρισις ψευδολογων, *the Hypocrisy of lyars* I made to bee *counterfeit writings*, under the names of the first and best Antiquity: S. Peters liturgy; the Liturgy of S. *Iames*; *Mathew*; *Mark*; the Apostles Councell at *Antioch*; foisted workes under the names of *Austin*, *Origen*, *Cyprian*, *Athanasius* and others: Through which wee need not doubt, but the doctrine of Dæmons was promoted, when we see some not ashamed still to maintain it, by these counterfeit authorityes.

Thus you see, how the first-borne and the most ancient part of the doctrine of Dæmons, the *Deifying* of *Saints* & *Martyrs* was advanced by the hypocrisy of liars. The same you shall find to have bin verified also in the advancing of the *next-born Dæmon-changling Image-worship*, and of the third, the *Idolatry* of the *Masse-God*, all brought in, and established by the means and wayes aforesaid. I need not spend time in Historicall allegations, they are well enough knowne; and *primum in unoquoq; genere ast mensura*

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[illegible] and his Councell [illegible] faction charged [illegible] at this notorious [illegible] we have like ex- [illegible] upon our selves this day; though there be so many thousand eyes and eares, and writings too, which confute them.

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sura consequentium. By that I spake of the first, you may Judge of those which follow; yet for Images I will tell you a story or two for a tast: *Bale* our Country-man (*Script. Illust. Britan, Cent.* 11. *ca.* 91. 99.) relates, that about the yeare 712, one *Egwin* of *Worcester* published in writing certain Revelations, yea expresse Visions he had seen, wherin hee was enjoyned to set in his Diocesse of *Worcester* the Image of the blessed Virgin, for the people to worship; which Pope *Constantine* the first having made him confirme by oath, not only ratifyed by his Bull; but caused *Brithwald* the Arch-Bishop to hold a Councell of the whole Clergy at *London*, to commend them to the people.

In that Idolatrous Councell of the second of *Nice*, one of their proofes, among many the like for worshipping of Images, is a tale quoted out of I know not what *Sophronius*, of a certain Recluse, who using to worship an Image of the Virgin *Mary*, holding *Christ* in her armes, had been a long time tempted by the divell to fornication; wherat on a time the old man being much aggrieved, the Devill visibly appearing told him in plaine termes (but under an oath of secrecy) that hee would never cease to vex him, untill he left worshipping the Image of the blessed Virgin. The Monke notwithstanding hee had made him sweare by the most high, hee should tell no body, yet acquaints one *Abbot Theodore* with the businesse, who not only allowes of his perjury in revealing it, but gives him this ghostly resolution: συμφέρει δὲ σοὶ μὴ καταλιπεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ταύτην πορνεῖον, εἰς ὃ μὴ εἰσέλθῃς, ἢ ἵνα ἀρνησῇ τὸ προσκυνεῖν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν μετὰ τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ μητρὸς ἐν εἰκόνι. It were better he frequented all the Stewes in the City, than not to worship Christ and his mother, in an Image. I am afraid some of their Monk successours still observe this wholesome counsell.

I must tell you also some of the miracles and lyes for laying

laying the foundation of Transubstantiation, and thence advancing the Idoll of the Masse. A certaine Monke reports, that hee saw Jesus Christ in forme of a child sitting upon the Altar. Another sayth, yea more then one, that *Wittikind* King of the *Saxons* entring disguised into a Church, and diligently observing the Christians fashion of receiving the Communion, saw them put a little pretty smiling boy into their mouths. These wonders and others of the like apparitions of flesh and blood began not, till about the end of the 800 yeares. But that they might seeme ancienter, *Simeon Metaphrastes* hath a forged Legend of *Arsenius* the Hermite; and some body counterfeited the life of Saint *Basil*, under the name of *Amphilochius* his companion, which now they begin to be ashamed of. And for feare the people might suspect that these were illusions, they keepe yet some of the flesh and blood which was thus transubstantiated, for a monument, in many Churches. To these apparitions, to make all complear, they tell us of a hive of Bees seen in Saint *Gervais* his Monastery in *Paris*, which built a Chappell of wax in honour of the Host, which some body put into the hive; and a miracle of an Asse that left his provender to worship the Host; and many other the like: but I have staied too long amongst them; and therefore let here be the conclusion of ὑποκρίσις ψευδολογων, that we may passe on to that is yet behind.

Ἐν ὑποκρίσει κωλυόντων γαμεῖν, * ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων ἃ ὁ Θεὸς ἔκτισεν, &c.

I come now to the last description of the meanes whereby the doctrine of Dæmons was to be advanced, *viz.* through the hypocrisie of such as forbid marriage, and command to abstaine from meats. Who are these? The wonderfull correspondence of the event makes me verily be

* *Vide opus Hierarchicum seu Cosm. Migalian. in Timoth. ubi ex Homero* σίτον καὶ οἶνον ἔδοντες, *It. Oecum.*

beleeve, that the Holy Ghost intended here (at least chiefly) to decipher unto us Monks, and Doctors of Monkery, by two such marks, as are the chiefe points and grounds of that singularity of life. For prohibition of marriage, and difference of meats are inseparable characters of Monasticall profession, and goe common to all that crew of hypocrites, whether solivagant Hermites, or Anchorites which live alone, or Cœnobites which lived in society. And if we take them joyned together, as our Apostle doth, I think they can befit no other kind of men by way of rule and precept, but these alone. 'Tis true, all Antichrists Priests are forbidden marriage, generally and absolutely; but meats they are not, save onely upon certaine dayes and times, which is not their case alone, but the people also partake with them in the like restraint. But Monks are bound by the vowed rule of their profession, to abstain from both absolutely and perpetually. Concerning the first heare S. *Chrisostome* speak; *hom.7 in Math. Nobis & Monachis* (saith he) *omnia mandata Dei sunt communia, præter connubium*: all the commandments of God are common to us, with Monks, besides marriage. Wherefore in the Councell of *Chalcedon* is an expresse Canon, *cap.16. Ut nec Deo dicata Virgo, nec Monachus nubant*: that no Nun or Monk should marry, (*i.e.*) they might not forsake their profession.

For the second, the abstaining from meats, Saint *Bennet* can tell us best, who is the father and founder of welnigh all the Monks of the West. His rule, which they all bind themselves to observe, saith; *à carnibus omnes abstineant*, let all abstaine from flesh. Again, *Carnium etiam quadrupedum omninò ab omnibus abstineatur comestio*: let all abstaine together from the eating of flesh of foure footed beasts. Hence is that decree of Bishop *Fructuosus* in *Gratian dist.5. Carnem cuiquam Monacho nec gustandi, nec sumendi est concessa licentia*: no Monk hath leave granted him to take, or so much as to taste a peece of flesh.

And

And these were the two principall observations of the first Monks, before they came to be gathered into a society of a common life, under certain set rules. *Paulus Thebæus* the first pattern of this kind of life, abstained as from marriage (whereof there is no question) so from all meats, save bread and dates. *Anthony* the next eate nought but bread and salt, and both drank no other drink but water. *Epiphanius* in his *Anchorato* tels us of differing observations in this kind. Some eat no flesh, but fish; some neither of both, but fruits and hearbs: some eat flying creatures, but abstained from all besides. But if you will take meats in this place in a larger sense, you shall have a full definition of Monkery, and take in that other Monasticall principle of renouncing possessions, & having no propriety in any thing, which they account the second fundamentall principle, next to the vow of chastity or single life. Now may not βρώματα, meats, be expounded in this sense? We know the word (Bread) in Scripture signifies all thing needfull for the maintenance of life; *omnia vitæ subsidia*; and therefore we ask them all in the Lords prayer under that name, *Give us this day our daily bread.* Marke the words of *David* to *Ziba*, 2 *Sam.* 9. *Thou and thy sonnes, and thy servants, shall till the land for him* (Mephibosheth) *and shalt bring in the fruits, that thy masters sonne may have* לחם food *to eat.* Here *bread*, or *food*, is taken for *Mephibosheths whole maintenance*, the whole profit of the land which *Ziba* tils. *Matth.* 10.9.10. *Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brasse in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither coats, nor shoes, nor yet staves; for the workman is worthy* ἡ τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. Here gold, silver, brasse, cloaths, and staves, and all come under τροφή, that is, *meat.* In stead whereof Saint *Luke chap.* 10. *ver.* 7. putteth τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ, *his hire. Pro.* 30.8. *Agur* saith, *Give me neither poverty nor riches, feed me with* food *convenient for me,* לחם חקי. By all which appeares, that *food* and *meat* in Scripure

Scripture is often taken for τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῷ σώματι, as Saint *James* speakes *cap.2. ver.16.* for all provision of things for the use of the body, and this life; maintenance, revenue, estate, possession. why may not then *abstaining from meats* in this Prophesie meane or include abstaining from possessions, *votum paupertatis*, the vow of poverty, and renouncing of the world, as the hypocrites call it? to which the following words, εἰς μετάλη-ψιν, are every way as pliable as to the stricter sense, and may be read thus: *which God hath created to be enjoyed with thankesgiving of them which*, &c. Let us heare *S. Bennets* rule speak for all. *Nemo aliquid proprium habeat, nullam omnino rem, neq; codicem, neq; tabulas, neq; graphiarium, sed nihil omnino*: Let no man have any thing proper or as his own, no kind of thing, neither book, nor writing, nor Inkehorne, nor any thing at all. And those who had once imposed upon themselves this law, were prohibited forever to returne to the world againe. *Monachis non licere ad sæculum redire*, *saith the* Canon of a great Councell. Heare a story of *S. Hieromes Epist. ad Eustochium.* A certain Monke being dead was found to have been so good an husband, as to have had lying by him one hundred *Solidi*, which hee had gotten by weaving of linnen; hereupon great doubt there was, what it should be done withall, whether given to the poore, to the Church, or to what use. But *Pambo*, and *Isidorus*, and the other Fathers (of the Monks) laid their heads together, decreed it should be buried with him, with this blessing; *Pecunia tua sit tecum in perditionem*; thy money perish together with thee. The like sentence gave *Gregory* the great against *Justus* a Monk, for the like fault, *Dial. .c.55.*

I conclude therefore, that these words, are a description of Monkery by such notes as are fundamentall, which way soever wee take them, either containing single life and *discrimen ciborum*, the differencing of meats, or the

two

two vowes of chaſtity and poverty, or all three of them, Chaſtity, Poverty, and abſtaining from meats. As for that other vow of obedience, it was not from the beginning, nor common to all; not to Hermites and Anchorites, but ſuch as lived in common under an head. And theſe are the men through whoſe hypocriſy, and by whoſe meanes the doctrine of Dæmons ſhould be brought in, and advanced among Chriſtians in the latter times.

Now let us ſee and behold with admiration the truth of this part alſo of the propheſy. Where firſt obſerve that this ſingular kind of life began even juſt at the time when the doctrine of Dæmons was to enter. For *Paulus Thebæus*, and *Anthony*, the firſt patterns thereof, died, the former in the reigne of *Conſtantine*, the latter a little before the yeere 360; whence, or neere unto which time, we began our reckoning before of the firſt entrance of Saint-worſhip into the Church. About that time (Monks till then having been confined to *Egypt*) *Hilarion* brought them into *Syria*, and preſently Saint *Baſil* gave them a certain rule to live together in forme of a Polity; and with the aſſiſtance of his brother *Gregory Nyſſen* and *Gregory Nazianzen* (who all entred this new kind of life) diſperſed them over all *Aſia* amd *Greece*; whoſe encreaſe was ſo wonderfull, that almoſt in an inſtant they filled the world, and their eſteeme was ſo great, that there was ſcarce a man of note, but took upon him this kind of life.

Though therefore it be moſt true, that our Apoſtles propheçy will bee verified, whichſoever of the two, either ſuch as themſelves entred the reſtraint of a Monaſtick life, or thoſe who approved, taught, & maintained the holineſſe of tht profeſſion (as the reſt did) were the ringleaders and Foſter-fathers of this defection; (for both come within the verge of ſuch as forbid marriage, and command to abſtain from meats) yet wee will not content our ſelves with ſo looſe an application, but ſee what anhand Monks and Friars themſelves (chiefly I ſuppoſe

intended by the holy Ghoſt) had in this buſineſſe.

And firſt in the doctrin of Dæmons, adoring of Reliques, and Invocation of Saints: where that which I firſt ſpeak of ſhall be in the words of *Chemnitius*, leſt ſome more tender of the honour of our fathers upon earth, than of the glory of our father in heaven, might take exception. Heare therefore not mee, but *Chemnitius* in his *examen Concilii Tridentini*: About the yeare of our Lord God 370 *per Baſilium, Niſſenum, et Nazianzenum in publicos Eccleſia conventus, occaſione orationum Panegyricarum Invocatio Sanctorum invehi cœpit; eodem tempore cùm ab iiſdem authoribus Monachatus ex Ægypto et Syriâ in Greciam introduceretur, Et videtur* (ſaith he) *hæc ſive portio, ſive Appendix Monachatus fuiſſe.* By *Baſil, Niſſen, and Nazianzen*, upon occaſion of Panegyricall orations, Invocation of Saints began to be brought into the publick Aſſemblyes of the Church, at the ſame time, when by the ſame Authors the profeſſion of Monaſticall life was was brought out of Ægypt and Syria into Greece; and it ſeemes (ſaith he) that this was either a part, or an appurtenance of Monkery &c. Againe ſpeaking of St. *Ambroſe* when he had once turned Monke, howſoever hee was before; *Non tamen nego (inquit) Ambroſium, tandem cùm Monachatum à Baſilio mutuò ſumpſiſſet, etiàm ad Invocationem Sanctorum inclinare cœpiſſe, ut patet ex libro de viduis.* I deny not (ſaith he) but *Ambroſe* at length, when he had once borrowed Monkery from *Baſil*, began alſo to incline to the Invocation of Saints, as appeares in his book *De viduis*. Thus *Chemnitius*.

And that you may yet further ſee how operative Monkes were in this buſineſſe, heare Saint *Auguſtine de opere Monachorum, cap.* 28. *Tam multos hypocritas ſub habitu Monachorum uſqueq; diſperſit Satan, circumeuntes provincias, nuſquam miſſos, nuſquam fixos, nuſquam ſtantes, nuſquam ſedentes. Alii membra Martyrum, ſi tamen Martyrum venditant; & omnes petunt, omnes exigunt, aut ſumptus*

ſumptus lucroſæ egeſtatis, aut ſimulatæ pretium ſanctitatis. The Devill (ſaith he) hath diſperſed in every corner ſuch a crew of hypocrites, under the habit of Monks, gadding about every Countrey, ſent no whither, ſtaying no where, every where reſtleſſe, whether ſitting or ſtanding; ſome ſell the limbs of Martyrs, if ſo be of Martyrs; and all asking, all exacting either the expence of a gainfull poverty, or the hire of a counterfeit ſanctity. Theſe were thoſe ſurely which occaſioned that reſcript of *Theodoſius* the Emperour, *Nemo Martyrem diſtrahat, nemo mercetur; let no man ſell, let no man buy a Martyr:* whereby we may gather what honeſty was like to be uſed amongſt them: we know, *Laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces;* Merchants uſe to commend their commodities. *Gregory* of *Tours*, who lived and died ſomewhat before the yeere 600, tels us this, *Monachos quoſdam Romam veniſſe, ac prope templum Pauli corpora quædam noctu effodiſſe, qui comprehenſi faſſi ſunt in Græciam ſe ea pro Sanctorum reliquiis portaturos fuiſſe;* That certain Monks came to *Rome*, and neere unto Saint *Pauls* Church, in the night time, digged up certain bodies; who being apprehended, confeſſed they meant to have carried them into *Greece* for reliques of Saints. The ſame Author, *l.9.c.6. Hiſt. Franc.* relates a ſtory of another counterfeit Monk, who pretended to come out of *Spaine* with Martyrs reliques; but being diſcovered, they were found to be certaine herbs, with bones of Mice, and ſuch like ſtuffe: and he tels us there were many ſuch ſeducers which deluded the people. And he ſaid true, there were many indeed, and many more than *Gregory* took for ſuch, even theſe he took for honeſt men. For though it muſt not be denied, but God had ſome of this order which were holy men, and unfainedly mortified, notwithſtanding their errour in thinking God was pleaſed with that ſingularity of life; yet muſt it be confeſſed, that the greater part were no better than hypocrites, and counterfeits,

ſeits, and that the lamentable defection of the Chriſtian Church chiefly proceeded from, and was foſtered by men of that profeſſion, as in part we have heard already.

And if you can with patience heare him ſpeak, I will add the teſtimony of *Eunapius Sardianus*, a Pagan Writer, who lived in the dayes of *Theodoſius* the firſt, about the yeere 400, in the life of *Edeſius*, moſt bitterly inveighing againſt the Chriſtians for demoliſhing the renowned Temple of *Serapis* at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*: he ſpeakes in this manner: *When they had done* (ſaith he) *they brought into the holy places thoſe which they call Monks, men indeed for ſhape, but living like ſwine, and openly committing innumerable villanies, not to be named; who yet tooke it for a peece of Religion thus to deſpiſe the Divinity* (he means of *Serapis:*) *for then* (ſaith he) *whoſoever wore a black coat, and would demeane himſelfe abſurdly in publicke, got a tyrannicall authority; to ſuch an opinion of vertue had that ſort of men attained. Theſe Monks alſo they placed at* Canopus, *in ſtead of the intelligible gods, to worſhip ſlaves, and thoſe of no good condition; thus bringing a bond of Religion upon men. For having powdered the bones and ſkuls of ſuch as had beene condemned of many crimes, and puniſhed by a legall courſe of juſtice, they made Gods of them; proſtrating themſelves unto them, and thinking themſelves the better for being polluted with Sepulchres; they called them forſooth Martyrs, and ſome Deacons, yea and Solicitours of their prayers with the gods; being indeed but perfidious ſlaves, who had been well baſted with the whip, and carried the ſcars of their lewdneſſe upon their bodies, and yet ſuch gods as theſe the earth brings forth.*

Thus the wretched caitiffe, and damned dog, blaſphemes the Saints and ſervants of Chriſt, who loved not their lives unto death; the duſt of whoſe feet he was not worthy to lick up. Yet may we make a ſhift to gather hence, what manner of offices Monks were then buſied in.

And

And if *Baronius* took leave to use his testimony for the antiquity of Saint-worship, why may not I with the like liberty alledge it, to shew that Monks and Friars were ring-leaders therein?

But when the Idolatry of Image-worship came to be added to those of Saints, whether Monks and Friars were not the chiefe sticklers therein, judge when you shall hear how it fared with them in that great opposition against Idols in the East.

Of *Leo Isaurus*, the first of those Emperours that opposed Images, we have this in generall out of the Greek Menology: That he raged most cruelly against Bishops and Monks, which maintained the worship of Images; and that he burnt a whole cloister of such kind of people in their Monastery, together with a famous Library, and all their furniture.

But *Constantine* his son made a worse fray amongst them. For the Author of the Acts of Monk *Stephen* tels us, That he being reproved and convicted for what hee had done (*viz.* against Images) by the religious and worthy professours of Monasticall life, he raised an implacable warre against them; calling that noble habit, σκοτίας ἔνδυμα, *the vesture of darknesse*; and the Monks themselves, ἀμνημονεύτους, that is, *unworthy of memory*: and besides, terming them all Idolaters, for the worshipping of venerable Images.

The same is confirmed by *Theosterictus*, another Authour of that time, who saith, That the whole aime and study of this Emperour was to extinguish and root out the order of Monks.

And for particulars, here what *Theophanes* (himselfe a Monk, and a little singed too in this flame, before it ended) will informe us.

In the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne he caused (saith he) Andreas Calybites, *a worthy Monke, who reproved him for his impiety* (in demolishing Images) *to be*

ſcourged till hee died, lib. 22. cap. 30. Hiſt. miſcell.

In the five and twentieth yeere of his reigne hee cauſed Monke Stephen *to be dragged by the heeles in the ſtreets, till being rent in peeces, he died; both for the aforeſaid offence, and becauſe he drew and perſwaded many to a Monaſticall life,* Ibid. cap. 39.

The ſame yeere the Emperour (ſaith he) *diſgraced and diſhonoured the Monaſticall habit, publickly commanding every Monk to lead a woman by the hand, ſo to march through the* Hippodrome, *all the people abuſing them, and ſpitting upon them,* Ibid. cap. 40.

In the ſeven and twentieth year, the Monaſteries (he ſaith) *partly he deſtroyed to the very foundations, partly beſtowed them upon his Captains and Souldiers,* Ibid. cap. 49.

In the ſame yeere, when he could not draw Peter a Metra, *a famous* Stylite, *or Pillar-Monk, unto his opinions, he cauſed him likewiſe to be dragged by the heeles, and his body caſt out into the ſtreets,* Ibid. cap. 48.

In his thirtieth yeere, his Prator or Deputy Lichanodraco *gathered all the Monks in his juriſdiction together, and commanded them to obey the Emperour, to put on a white coat, and to marry wives inſtantly, or to have their eyes put out, and to be ſent into exile,* Ibid. cap. 52. So the Emperor, when he would have *Conſtantine* the Patriarch abjure Monkery, *he made him* (ſaith the ſame Authour) *eat fleſh,* Lib. eod. cap. 29.

In the one and thirtieth yeere the ſame *Lichanodraco* ſold all the Monaſteries, both of men and women in his juriſdiction, and ſent the money to the Emperour. If hee found any one to have a relique of any Saint in keeping, he burnt it, and puniſhed him that had it. He ſlew the Monks, ſome with ſtripes, ſome with the ſword; and left not a man, where he had to doe, that wore a Monaſticall habit; whereupon the Emperour wrote thus unto him, ὃν εὗρον τὸν ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου: *I have found thee a man after mine own heart, who*

who fulfillest my whole will. Thus much of *Constantine.*

The like reports *Cedrenus* of *Michael Balbus*, That he abominated Monks, and diversly afflicted them, ordaining one punishment after another against them. As also of *Theophilus*, the last Emperour that opposed Images: *Theophilus* (saith he) *ordained* ἀβάτους τηρεῖσθαι τὰς πόλεις τοῖς μοναχοῖς, *that no Monks should have accesse unto the Cities, and that they should by all meanes be banished;* μᾶλλον δὲ μηδὲ κατὰ χώραν ὁράσθαι τολμᾶν, *and not so much as dare to be seen in the Countrey:* and that he caused the Monasteries and places of holy retirement to become common and secular habitations: what the reason was, we may learn by that the same Author tels us: *Of those* (saith he) *which reprehended the Emperour, the Abramite Monks were the chiefe; who freely adventuring into his presence, did demonstrate that Monasticall life was not an invention of yesterday, or the other day, but an ancient and primitive institution, and that holy Images were familiar in the Apostles times, and that Saint* Luke *painted an Image of the blessed Virgin,* &c. But it seemes the Emperour was not convinced by their demonstration: for this their boldnesse cost them full deare, as our Authour relates.

By this time I know you understand what the matter was that this Image-storm fell so heavily upon the heads of Monks and Friars: and yet notwithstanding all this, they at length prevailed, and carried the day (so God would have it) for their Idols. For another *Theophanes*, whom they call the Presbyter, a Writer also of his time tells, That *Theophilus* being dead, *Theodora* the Empresse (whilst she reigned in the minority of *Michael* her son) when she meant to restore Image-worship, which had been banished now the second time, ever since *Leo Armenius, Re cum illis communicatâ, qui erant in magistratu & dignitate constituti, accersit cum ipsis eos, qui inter Monachos præstabant, & de Imaginum instauratione quæstionem proponit.*

proponit. Cumq́, idem omnes conſentientes comperiſſent, diuturnoq́, ejus rei deſiderio teneri, atq́, animo excruciari propter Religionis in hâc re mutationem, poſtulat, ut ſe etiam Patrum authoritatibus ad veritatem confirmarent, quas variis in libris inveniſſent. Mandavitq́, quo in loco Palatii præfinito, cætus Eccleſiaſticus univerſus cogeretur, & ad populum eâ de re verba faceret, &c. that is, when ſhe had acquainted the Magiſtrates, and thoſe that were in authority, therewith, together with them ſhe ſent for the chiefeſt of the Monks, and propounded to them the queſtion concerning reſtoring of Images: whom when ſhe found all men for the purpoſe, yea very eager in the buſineſſe, ſhe called a Synod, whereby Idolatry was again publickly erected in the Greek Church, 120 yeeres after it firſt began to bee purged thereof, by *Leo Iſaurus* the Emperour.

For the Idolatry of the maſſe-god, which was not in uſe, at ſooneſt, till a thouſand yeeres after Chriſt, when the opinion of Tranſubſtantiation had gotten ſtrength, we ſhall not need trouble our ſelves much to ſhew that Monks and Friars were the authors and advancers thereof; ſince by that time, theſe kind of men were become the onely maſters of Divinity: and therefore wee need not doubt, that what was then broached in the Church, came out of their ſhop.

Judge now, by what you have heard, how truly this Propheſie of Saint *Paul* is fulfilled, who told us, that the *Doctrines of Dæmons* ſhould bee brought into the Church, *διὰ ὑποκρίσεως ψευδολόγων κεκαυστηριασμένων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν; through the hypocriſie of thoſe who forbid to marry, and* (command) *to abſtain from meats.*

FINIS.

Printed for SAMUEL MAN at the Swan in Pauls Church-yard.

4

THE QVESTION CONCERNING The Divine Right OF EPISCOPACIE truly ſtated.

by mr Hen: Parker

LONDON,
Printed for Robert Boſtock, 1641.

THE

QUESTION

CONCERNING

The Divine Right

OF

EPISCOPACY.

To the moſt Reverend and Gracious Father in God, my Lord Primate of IRELAND.

MY LORD,

IN a diſcourſe lately written concerning Puritans, I had occaſion offred me to declare my opinion againſt the Divine right of Epiſcopacie. Thoſe reaſons which I then urged, ſeemed weak to your Grace, as I have heard, which was a great diſcouragement to me: but I thought it not fit to deſert ſo well a ſeeming cauſe, and to reſigne my judgement preſently upon a meere diſcouragement. I have ſince ſummoned up ſome more deep and retired thoughts, that I might gain a more juſt cauſe to retract my error, or to cleere the truth, and perſiſt in my aſſurance. The queſtion of Epiſcopacie, I think, I have now rightly ſtated, and if I am not deceived, I have let in ſuch light upon it, that judicious men will now more eaſily ranſack the profundity of it. Certainly the matter of it ſelf is of great difficulty, and of great moment in theſe times, and it was not any confidence in my own wit that firſt ingaged me in it, but the knowledge of my candor, and freedome from private reſpects. No man living, I conceive, can be more diſpaſſionate, or more diſintereſſed in this caſe then I am. The heat of my own mind could never yet thruſt me into any faction, or make me

turbulent in the world, neither has any impression from without either by hope of gain, or fear of damage stirr'd up sleeping passion in me. Of my selfe I rather wish well then ill to Episcopacie, because it is so antient a government; and for my own interest I have found more friendship then enmity from Bishops, so that I am certain, there is nothing but the simple love of truth, as it is truth, is the bias of my actions at this time. As for the Presbyteriall discipline also, I have so laid open my opinion concerning that, that if I have erred therein, I am sure the world can charge me of nothing else but error. Had all men which have formerly treated of this subject, been as unswayde by private interests as I am, this controversie had not bin so long protracted as it is; but your Grace knowes well, that scarce any but Bishops have maintained Bishops hitherto, nor scarce any opposed them, but such as have found some opposition from them; My Lord, I now begge your gracious favour to lay aside your Palle, and to put on the same impartiall man in perusing these papers, as I now am whilst my pen is upon them: for I know there is none has a more cleere Spirit, and lesse liable to the grosse dampe of worldly respects then your self. Let this my humble addresse be a testimony at this time that I am not a prejudging, factious enemy to all Bishops, and let your gracious acceptance of the same be as strong a crisis that your Grace is not a prejudging factious enemie to all which maintaine not Bishops.

Your Graces in all obsevance
most humbly devoted,
H. P.

The Queſtion concerning the Divine right of Epiſcopacie truly ſtated.

THe queſtion about Epiſcopacie hath never yet been truly ſtated, nor the chief points of it methodically diſtributed, and this is the cauſe that it is now become ſo intricate and involved to the great diſturbance of the world; for ſatisfaction therefore herein, the firſt thing to be queſtioned is the *Quid eſſe* of Epiſcopacy, and what is ſeparable from the Order of it, as it is now conſtituted in *England*.

According to Biſhop *Bilſon*, there are foure things neceſſary in Religion.

1. Diſpenſing of the word.
2. Adminiſtring of the Sacraments.
3. Impoſing of hands in Ordination.
4. Guiding of the keyes.

The firſt two of theſe being the ordinary means of Salvation, he attributes generally to all Miniſters: the other two reſpect the clenſing and governing of the Church, and are committed (as he ſaith) to Biſhops onely, and not to

to all Presbyters equally, least by a parity of rule confusion follow, and ruine upon confusion. It seems then, that the end of Religion is, that God be duly served, and the end of Church-policie, that Religion be wisely maintained. And for the wise maintenance of Religion, it behooveth not only that some peculiar chosen men be separated & dedicated to officiate before God, and to direct and assist others in the offices of Devotion, but also that all Anarchy and confusion be avoided amongst those that are so chosen into the Priesthood. Thus farre there needs no dispute: the main branches then of this controversie are three.

1. Who are designed by God to be governours over the Priesthood for avoiding of confusion.

2. What proportion of Honour, Revenue, Power in Ecclesiasticall and in temporall affairs is due to those Governours.

3. What are the proper, distinct offices of that government to be executed & undergone.

As to the first main branch, the first question is, who is supreme Head of the Church under Christ: whether the Prince as Bishop *Gardiner* first held under *H.* 8. or the Bishop of *Rome*, as Sir *Thomas More* held, or the Aristocracy of Bishops, as Dr. *Downing* holds, or the Democracie of Presbyters and Lay-elders, as *Calvin* taught; if Scripture be expresse in any precept to this purpose, or any Canon extending to all places and times, we must look no farther: but

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if no ſuch expreſſe rule be, nor no neceſſity of any ſuch, nor Divines were ever yet agreed upon any ſuch, it ſeems that under the King, that Junto of Divines, Stateſmen, and Lawyers in Parliament, which hath a Legiſlative power over the State, hath the ſame over the Church. And if the King have not the ſame ſupreme power in ſpirituall as in temporall things, it is either for want of ſanctity in his perſon, or for want of capacity in his judgement: but that the Prince is more then temporall, and of ſanctity competent for ſupremacie of rule in the Church is ſufficiently evinced by *Bilſon*, *Hooker*, &c. againſt *Calvin*, and the Papiſts, and Presbyterians both; and that defect of judgement is no bar in the Church more then in the State, is apparent; for if the King be unlearned, yea, an infant, Lunatick, &c. yet by his Counſels and Courts of Law, warre and policie, he may govern the Common-wealth well enough; and it little skilleth whether he be Lawyer, Souldier, or Polititian: and there is the ſame reaſon in the Church. And if we admit the King to be ſupreme head of the Church, I think no man will deny but that the fitteſt policie for him to govern the Church by, will be the ſame pattern by which he governeth the State, making as little difference between them as may be; for it is the ſame body of men now, of which both State and Church are compacted, and ſo it was not in the Apoſtles times; and the ſame body hath the ſame head now, as it had not

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in the beginning: for *Tiberius* was then the head of the Christians, but the enemy of Christian Religion. So the main ζητέμενον remaining is, whether the King having power to chuse subordinate officers and Counsellors in the Church, may or ought to chuse such as are meerly spirituall or meerly temporall, or a mixture of both. The Papists hold no Governours over the Clergy competent, neither supreme, nor subordinate, but such as are meerly spirituall: The Protestants every where almost but in *England*, incline to a mixt government in the Church, though they exclude the King *quatenus* King: in the mean while, we in *England* admit of the King for our supreme governour, but doubt of any subordinate mixt government. 'Tis not my taske at this present to dispute the conveniency of a mixt government, and an association of Spirituall and Lay rulers: but I think the Presbyterians have sufficiently asserted it though to another purpose. And it seems to me, that the Apostolicall form of government, as to the supremacy of it, is not now in force, because there is not the same reason, that head being then wanting in the Church which is since supplied; but as to any constitution in the subordinate wheels of government, if the Laity had then any motion or influence therein, I think the same reason still remaines, and the same form ought still to be in force.

In the second branch: Be the subordinate governours of the Church mixt or simple, either

either according to the Popiſh or Presbyterian diſcipline: the queſtion is, whether or no, ſuch Eccleſiaſticall governours ought to be veſted, and dignified with temporall honours above the Judges of the Land, and equall with the Peeres of the Realme, and whether or no they ought to enjoy temporall revenues proportionable to that Honour, and power in ſecular affairs correſpondent to thoſe revenues; and if ſo, whether by divine or humane conſtitution. Alſo if theſe differences were added (as Biſhop *Bilſon* acknowledgeth) rather for the honour of the calling, then for any neceſſity of Gods Law, it is next to be queſtioned, whether or no a Parliament hath not now power and cauſe to reduce theſe additions of Epiſcopacy into more modeſt limits, for it ſeems that from *Adam* till Chriſt, no ſuch grandour and ſplendor was in Church-men, nor from Chriſt to *Conſtantine*, and from *Conſtantine* to the Reformation, we know how they were abuſed to the miſchief of the Church, and decay of Religion; and in the reformation, we know all Nations beſides us did utterly remove them: and we know that the Church in *England* is now much impoveriſhed by many impropriations and commendams, &c. now deteined by Biſhops and Cathedrals, beſides that which it ſuffers by Lay-men; and it ſeems ſtrange that the Paſtors of the flock ſhould be ſtarved, that Prelates ſhould abound, and ſwim in too great exceſſe: and that the meer livelyhood of holy preachers ſhould

be held leſſe neceſſary then the proud pomp of unuſefull (nay as ſome think) miſchievous dominators.

As to the third branch: if the end of Epiſcopacy (as Biſhop *Bilſon* holds) be to prevent the confuſion of parity in the Church, we are firſt to queſtion, whether Ordination by impoſition of hands, and guiding of the keyes be neceſſary to Epiſcopacy, and ſo neceſſary, as that confuſion cannot be prevented without them: All wiſe men will allow ſome authority requiſite, whereby Miniſters may be duly elected, and their true qualifications of learning and integrity tried, and that being rightly elected, they may be further conſecrated by prayer and the ſolemnity of hands, and being conſecrated, that they may be further inſtituted, and deſigned to ſome particular charge. The Presbyterians do not diſlike ſuch authority, nor are negligent in the ſame: the queſtion is therefore onely, to whom this authority may be committed, whether to Biſhops onely, or to ſome ſuch judicatory as the Presbyterians uſe, or ſome other of humane inſtitution. As for example, if the Vniverſities, or ſome ſelect Committee therein, be intruſted to try the ſufficiency of Scholars, and to give Orders, and upon the vacancy of a Rectory to preſent three, &c. to the King, and the King out of thoſe three to preſent two, &c. to the pariſh, and the pariſh out of two to chuſe one for their Paſtour, the queſtion onely is, whether ſuch election, ordination, preſentation,

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and induction, be not as legall, and religious, as if it were by Biſhops, and be not far more politike in preventing ſimony, and in better ſatisfying the right of the flock, whoſe ſoules are mainly concerned, and whoſe tithes are to that purpoſe contributed. And now it ſeemes S. *Ierome* allowes no further uſe of Biſhops to have been of old: for he ſayes plainly, that a Biſhop differs from a Presbyter in no act *exceptâ ordinatione:* and as for the power of the keyes, that has been alwaies held common to the whole Clergie: but we wil not ſtand upon this, we will freely grant an authority neceſſary as well to ſuperintend over Miniſters in their charges, as to place them therein, and when B. *Bilſon* appropriates to Biſhops the guiding of the keyes, we will underſtand not the meere power of them, but the government of that power: we will admit alſo under this terme of guiding the keyes to be comprehended

1. The power of making Eccleſiaſticall Canons.

2. Of giving judgement, and executing according thereto.

3. Of iſſuing the ſentence of excommunication.

4. Of deciding controverſies.

And the queſtion now is, whether the keyes may not be ſo guided by ſome other Eccleſiaſticall judges and magiſtrates beſides Biſhops, if the King thinke fit to deſigne them, for

Firſt, the Legiſlative power of the Church was never yet only committed to Biſhops, the

whole Clergie, and the King were never yet excluded from Synods, and Councels, neither are the acts of Synods and Councels binding to any Nation unleſſe the ſecular ſtates ratifie them. And I think, there is no queſtion of the validity of ſuch Canons as are now made in thoſe Proteſtant Countries, where Biſhops have no command, or being at all.

And ſecondly, ſpirituall juriſdiction is not only appropriated to Biſhops, but to Lay-men under Biſhops, Canoniſts and Civilians are held more able and knowing herein than Biſhops, and Biſhops are held leſſe fit by reaſon of their more ſacred imployments: ſo the queſtion here will be only this, Whether or no the juriſdiction of Lawyers, and ſuch like, as now execute juſtice in the ſpirituall Courts under Biſhops will be as competent under the King without Biſhops as it is now under Biſhops immediately. Some ſay, that Chancellours &c. are not meere Lay-men, no matter: For by the ſame reaſon any others to whom ſuch Eccleſiaſticall juriſdiction ſhall be committed by the King ſhall be held ſacred, and if they are not meere Lay-men, yet they are not meere Biſhops; if they are preferred to ſome equality with the Clergie, yet they are not preferred above the Clergie, and this preferment is no other, but ſuch as may be beſtowed upon any other Lay-man, that is not otherwiſe inſufficient. And even amongſt Preſbyterians there is a forme of Juriſdiction, and I think not held vaine, or unlawfull by any: and even in caſes of hereſie, blaſphemie, &c. which

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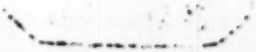
are moſt ſpirituall, if none can ſo rightly judge what is hereſie, blaſphemy, &c. as ſpirituall governours, yet this proves not any neceſſity of Biſhops, for the fact may be tryed, & execution awarded by others, and nothing but an aſſiſtance of Councell from ſpirituall men will be needfull. In the third place alſo, if Excommunication be ſtill held of neceſſity, and all other temporall authority defective without it, if it be concluded to be perpetuall, notwithſtanding the decay of Prophecy, and the ſupply of other Chriſtian juriſdiction, and if it be to be extended alſo to all perſons in all caſes as our Chriſtian Court now extends it (which ſeemes to me a ſtrange, obſcure, unproved thing) yet the only queſtion is, Whether it may not continue in the Church, and be ſtill ordered and guided without Epiſcopacy: For it ſeemes that the Presbyterians, though they uſe not Excommunication for ſuch violent, rigorous purpoſes as the Papiſts doe, yet they are more ſevere in it then ever the Fathers were before the Law or under the Law: and yet notwithſtanding, their authority of uſing it, is not excepted againſt by their enemies. And forthly, if it be granted that Biſhops were firſt introduced for the preventing of ſchiſmes and factions in the Church, as being held the fitteſt meanes for to procure the deciſion of controverſies, and the determination of diſputes in Religion: yet the queſtion is whether diſcord and diviſion may not be prevented, and difficulties of diſpute as conveniently reſolved by ſome other as by Epiſcopall au-

thority: for it ſeemes there is great difference *inter Eccleſiam conſtitutam*, and *Eccleſiam conſtituendam*, and between a Church whoſe ſupreme governor is ill affected to it, & a Church whoſe Prince is an indulgent Father to it: ſo that Epiſcopacy cannot be now of the ſame uſe, as it was at firſt in the infancy of the perſecuted Church. And it ſeemes that amongſt all other Proteſtants both *Calviniſts* and *Lutherans* where Biſhops rule not, controverſies are not ſo manifold, nor innovations in Religion ſo eaſie to be induced, nor factions in the Church ſo dangerouſly maintained, as they are in *England* under the ſway of Biſhops. It ſeemes alſo in all great emergent occaſions of diviſion and diſſention in points of doctrine, that if our two famous Vniverſities were conſulted, and in caſe of diſagreement there, if *London*, as our third Oracle ſhould arbitrate by a Junto of all her Divines, the deciſion would be farre more honorable and ſatisfying to all, than if any one Biſhop, or any Province, or Nation of Biſhops ſhould attempt to give the like. And to conclude this point, the ſolemn uſe of Synods, Councels, and Parliaments does not at all depend upon Epiſcopacy, ſo that it ſeemes as to this purpoſe no neceſſity can be alledged for the government of Biſhops, as Biſhops are now qualified in England.

Theſe branches if they were thus orderly diſcuſſed by moderate, conſcionable, & learned Divines, many incomparable advantages in probabilitie would ariſe thereby: for firſt, the very founda-

foundations of Popery would be laid open and naked, the very center of that tyrannous united Empire which has ſubjugated the world ſo long under ſuch baſe ſlavery, would be ript up, and all its infernall myſteries diſcovered to the ſun. Secondly, that unpolitike axiome, *No Biſhop, no King*, whereby Biſhops have alwayes imbarqued Princes in their warres, would appeare to be ſophiſticate, and a meere color without all ſubſtance of reaſon. Thirdly, many great fruits of peace and unity both Eccleſiaſticall and Civill would redound to our whole Nation. Thoſe many miſchiefs which attend Epiſcopacy, againſt which the complaints are ſo grievous and univerſall would be remedied. That new module of government which ſo many have ſo variouſly phanſied, and propoſed in theſe latter times would open it ſelf, and offer it ſelf to us of its own accord. The pattern of the State would be ſufficient to preſent to us a fit & harmonious pattern for the Church: and the body and head of both Church and State would appeare to be the ſelf ſame. The King ſhould be the ſame in both, and Councels and Courts govern under him by the ſame commiſſion in both. A power to ordain fit Miniſters, and to put a finall end to controverſies and diſſentions might be committed to the Vniverſities, and ſome gentle influence by votes affirmative or negative might be alſo allowed therein to the Laytie. The power of making Articles and Orders for decency and peace in the Church might remaine unalter'd in the

the Kings Clergie, and Parliament: Able civill and canon Lawyers might ſtill ſit in their tribunals taking cognizance of ſuch caſes, as are truly Eccleſiaſticall, and have not been by uſurpation of the Hierarchy wrongfully wreſted out of the Temporall Courts: and the ſpirituall ſword of Excommunication might ſtill be gently weelded in the ſame hands as it has been, when it is neceſſary. An aſſiſtance of godly Divines in all caſes of Conſcience might be allotted to the K. and all his Judges and Magiſtrates upon occaſion, without wholly drawing them from their charges, and this would be no leſſe effectuall, then that of the greateſt Prelates. The inconveniences of the Presbyterian Diſcipline alſo which is not ſo adequate and conformable to Monarchy would be rectified. And laſtly, the bleeding Church which had ſo great a part of her Patrimony torn from her by *Hen.* 8. by the addition of Epiſcopall and Cathedrall livings might be healed up, and reſtored to her antient grace and vigour.

FINIS.

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